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SERIOUS CRIME

IN AN INDIAN PROVINCE,

BEING A RECORD OF THE GRAVER CRIME COMMITTED IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH DURING ELEVEN YEARS, 1876 TO 1886—WITH THREE STATISTICAL APPENDICES.

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BY

EUSTACE J. KITTS, B.C.S.

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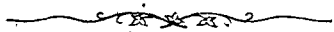

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INTRODUCTION.

Special Causes influencing Crime—Seasons—Density and Urban Populations—Geographical Position of certain Districts—Criminal Tribes—Main Results.

In the following pages I have tried to give a record of the graver crime which has been committed and reported within the North-Western Provinces and Oudh during eleven years, 1876 to 1886. This period includes two years, 1877 and 1878, in which the greater part of the population suffered acutely for a time from a failure of crops within the province, aggravated by the high prices caused by the famine in the Deccan and the south of India. Scarcity and distress swell the crime-register. But for this very reason the record, which these eleven years present, is rendered more illustrative and useful. The influence of the seasons upon certain classes of crime, not only from year to year, but also from month to month, is as distinct as is their influence upon the birth-rate.

The distribution of the population also has an influence upon the commoner crimes, house-breaking and theft. Where a district is very densely populated, and also has proportionately a large town population, there are more cases of house-breaking and theft than in a neighbouring district, sparsely populated, and having a small urban population. The Agra district,

for example, with 527 souls to the square mile, and with nearly one-fifth of its population gathered in towns, has 207 house-breakings and 274 ordinary thefts every year to a lakh of the male population; while the adjacent district of Mainpuri, with 472 souls to the square mile, and only one-sixteenth of them living in towns, has only 125 such house-breakings and 111 thefts. Still more striking is the contrast between the adjoining districts, Benares and Mirzapur. The density of the former district is 894 persons per square mile, and that of the latter is only 218. Nearly one quarter of the inhabitants of Benares are congregated in towns, mainly in the city of Benares itself; while the urban population in the neighbouring district is only one-fifteenth of the whole. In the former there are 189 house-breakings and 397 thefts against 111 house-breakings and 184 thefts per lakh of males per annum in the latter district. Lucknow and Unao may be similarly contrasted.

Geographical position is also an important factor. Action in concert with an adjacent district of the same province is always much easier to maintain than action in concert with an adjacent district of another province. There is no want of sympathy in the latter case, but an occasional loss of touch between the lower ranks of the police. Pursuit and communication are thus rendered more difficult. The districts on each side of the Jumna suffer to a certain extent merely from

being in different provinces. The cattle-lifters, from Saharanpur down to Bulandshahr, are quick to take advantage of this fact: avoiding the ordinary fords, and swimming their cattle across the stream, they disappear into another province. The case is much more serious when a Native State is the neighbour, for here, in addition to an occasional loss of touch, there is a vital difference of police organization. Moradabad and Bareilly suffered both in cattle-theft and dacoity, during the eleven years recorded, from the little Native State of Rampur, which these two districts adjoin and almost surround. The ceaseless patrol of the station-policeman and the village watchman, in a British district, renders it impossible for any gang of dacoits or other bad characters to assemble and dwell together for any length of time, without their whereabouts being known and their movements watched. This minute daily vigilance is wanting in a Native State; and as professional dacoits, if unmolested, will generally refrain from harrying the country immediately around them, the gangs thus obtain both a local habitation, where they are known and can give a good account of themselves, and a base of operations. Bhartpur, Dholpur, and Gwalior have thus, in these eleven years, been troublesome neighbours, especially to Muttra and Agra. Banda and Hamirpur are in like manner bordered by the small Native States of Bundelkhand, and Banda has suffered more than any other district

in its division from cattle-theft, while Hamirpur has similarly suffered from dacoits and robbers.

Within the province itself the presence of criminal tribes in a district makes an important addition to the police work; and an accurate knowledge of their habits, customs and method of work becomes consequently most desirable. In this connection I have in the last paper put together a few notes taken from various sources but chiefly from the works of Major-General Sleeman.

The most striking results of these papers may be thus summed up. As regards offences against the person, there is in ordinary years barely one murder to every hundred thousand persons (see p. 2), and as regards offences against property, the average loss per family (see p. 69) is less than two pence halfpenny per annum.

The references to Oudh before the annexation are based upon Sleeman's Tour through Oudh. Anyone indeed, wishing to form a practical and dispassionate estimate of the result of thirty years' British rule, could not do better than, taking the General's diary in his hand and following his footsteps, compare what he himself sees with the descriptions recorded forty years ago by that accurate and impartial observer.

MURDER.

Number of Murders and Homicides—Influence of Famine—Murder by Robbers and Dacoits—Murder by Poison—Poisoning—Non-Poisoners—Bairagis—Females and Boys—Usual Procedure—Poisoning of Pilgrims and Others—Wholesale Poisoning—Child-murder—Normal Motives for Murder—Abnormal Motives—Distribution of the Crime.

FROM 1st January 1876 to 31st December 1886 there were 4,530 murders committed in the North-West Provinces and Oudh. There were also 2,979 cases of culpable homicide, thus making up an average of two lives taken per diem. Besides these cases there were about sixty every year in which death was caused by a rash or negligent act. One unsuccessful attempt at murder is made every fourth day, 942 abortive murders having been recorded during the eleven years. The number of suicides is nowhere stated, but the attempts and abetments of suicide during this period were no fewer than 13,317.

Comparing one year with another, the numbers of murders were highest in the two years of famine—1877 and 1878. The record rose to 471 in the former year and to 546 in the latter. Many starving mothers made away with the children whom they despaired of nourishing, jumping down wells, as their manner is when despair or anger drives them mad. Twelve murders out of twenty in Allahabad in 1878, four out of thirteen in Bijnor, four out of fifteen in Cawnpore, and three out of nine in Jaunpur were of this description; and these instances will

suffice to show how despair swells the murder-roll in a famine year.

For the other nine years the average run of murders is 390, or less than one to every hundred thousand of the population per annum. Out of these 390, forty are the work of dacoits or robbers, and occur simply as an incidental feature of professional robbery. Six such murders were committed by a single gang of four persons in Etawah in 1877, beside four others which occurred that year in the course of grain dacoities and five in the course of robberies in that district. There were seven similar cases in Budaon that year. These murders committed in the course of dacoity or robbery are but seldom detected. "A few men spring out on a solitary traveller or on a small party on a dark night. The man is knocked over by a *lathi* blow to die or live, according to the strength of the blow and the hardness of his own head. The women are rifled and the robbers abscond. It is all the work of an instant, and, as a rule, the robbers belong to criminal tribes and come from a distance." There were in the course of these eleven years six murders committed by thugs, 72 by dacoits, and 368 by highway robbers.

The next class of murders is the murder by poison—the work of miscreants who administer stupefying drugs to their victim and rob him while insensible, careless whether he subsequently recovers or not. Murders by poison can hardly be considered apart from those cases of poisoning which happen not to end fatally. Two hundred and sixty-three murders by poison, or about 24 per annum, were recorded during the eleven years; and besides these fatal cases there were 440 others of the

administration of stupefying drugs. The Unao District with 29 cases, Lucknow with 25, Meerut with 20, and Saharanpur with 19 head the latter list; and probably these same districts were pre-eminent in fatal cases also. Poisoning was especially rife in 1878 (25 fatal and 60 other cases), in 1884 (27 fatal and 56 other cases), and in 1885 (28 fatal and 54 other cases). Every now and again there is a run of crime in a particular neighbourhood. All the cases in the Agra District in 1878 occurred near Idmatpur. There were eight cases in the Fyzabad District between January and May of that year. In 1879 there were nine cases in the city and suburbs of Allahabad within four months and a half. Four cases were reported within five days at the Etawah police station in October 1883; and there was a fifth case within the month, in which a woman and two young men were found unconscious in the streets of the same city. A skilful poisoner will work off a good many victims in his day, and many of his crimes go unsuspected and unrecorded. Of this there are numerous instances. A Chamar was arrested in Moradabad in 1877, who had drugged five persons with dhatura. In 1885 a Mussalman, Imam Bakhsh, joined some cartmen who were returning from Lalitpur to Jhansi. He drugged them, but for some reason was unable to rob them: their money was safe, tied round their waists when they were found. Imam Bakhsh returned to Lalitpur and managed to get lodging with a Hindu family. After remaining with them for three days he poisoned the whole family and disappeared with the portable property. He was an old professional who was concerned in a Jalaun case in February

1880, and who had previously been convicted. This time he was hanged. Another man, Dhanpat Lal, who was convicted in 1881, pleaded guilty to five previous cases.

A very notorious poisoner, Radha Ballab, a Brahman of Muttra, was caught in the Agra District in 1877. Eight cases of poisoning were reported in Agra in that year, and two serious cases, in which five persons met their deaths, remained undetected; the bodies, when found, had not been rifled, so that the poisoners must have been disturbed at their work. Radha Ballab was at the head of a gang of poisoners and confessed a good many crimes which had never been reported. On one occasion he and five friends wanted money for the *Holi* festivities. Two of them, Megha and Radha Ballab, went to Ferozepore: Megha passing himself off as a well-to-do Borah, and Radha Ballab as his servant. They hired a cart and cartman; their four friends met them on the road; they drugged the cartman and sold the cart and bullocks to some Jats who habitually bought cattle from known poisoners. In the Unao District a professional poisoner, Balgobind, was arrested; and his arrest brought to light two other old cases. So, too, in the Basti District the investigation of one case led to the discovery of three other cases. In 1879, all nine Allahabad cases were supposed to be the work of a single man, Lachman Chamar. Another poisoner with a long roll of victims to his name was a Brahman named Sheoparshan, who was released on Proclamation Day, 1877; he had previously been convicted in two cases. On his release he began work again. He was released from the Bara Banki Jail, and there were

two cases in that district within the month. In June 1878 he gave a Brahman some poisoned water to drink and robbed him of Rs. 45; this was in Gonda: and in the month before he had poisoned two women near the holy city of Ajudhiya, robbing them of Rs. 23-4-0. Another noted poisoner, also captured and convicted in 1878, was Debi *alias* Sharfudin. He was a man of Bareilly, once a member of the police force in that district. In 1862-63 he was imprisoned for cutting and maiming a woman. While in prison he foregathered with Lalji Kalwar, an expert poisoner from Bengal. When they were released from jail they took to themselves one or two Thakurs from a notorious village in the Bareilly District. The gang set up its head-quarters at Aligarh and began work on the Grand Trunk Road. Lalji Kalwar was captured in 1866. Debi, taking with him Lalji's woman and two daughters, went to Agra and again enlisted in the police. He served for two years and then took his discharge, going into the Punjab, where he plied his old trade. One day he quarrelled with the woman, who betrayed him to the Punjab police. His old knowledge of the force, however, stood him in good stead: he managed to discredit her story and was released from custody. After that he made Jeypur his head-quarters, and worked from that city until he was captured. Nine of his associates were also arrested, and the gang was thus broken up.

Bairagis have a bad name as poisoners and are hard to track. These ascetic devotees do not spare even their own castemen. Two Bairagis of Basti in 1877 drugged another, who had come to them as a spiritual disciple, and stole his purse containing Rs. 33; two

others at Ajudhiya in 1878 gave a Pasi poisoned flour and potatoes to eat, and then eased him of Rs. 45-8-0; another in the same district, three weeks later, gave a Tiwari poisoned water to drink, and when the Brahman fell down senseless the holy man walked off with his lotah and loin-cloth. In Lucknow city, about the same time, a Teli was poisoned by a Joshi who gave him gur mixed with bhang and robbed him of his cash and property. A Bairagi in the Azamgarh District in 1883 drugged and robbed a party of pilgrims on their way to Ajudhiya; another, Bhagwandas by name, in January 1884, drugged a couple of Bairagis at a tank outside Etawah city, and three months later he drugged two more Bairagis at Muttra; another Bairagi at the same city drugged and robbed an old woman who was on a piligrimage to the Putrakhund.

Sometimes women take to the trade. Lalji's daughters, already mentioned, were suspected of getting their living in this way. There were two cases in the Ghazipur District in 1878 in which four women and a boy were drugged by two old women. A *Mali* woman in Lucknow that same year poisoned her brother-in-law and his wife with drugged *puris* (cakes) and then robbed them. In Benares one beggar woman drugged another, and a similar case occurred at Fyzabad. A woman at Bareilly in 1880 went to her nephew's house, drugged and robbed the family; then drugged and robbed two other people; and finally went to the house of another relative at Budaon and drugged and plundered that family also. She was, however, assisted by a male confederate, and both were afterwards caught in Budaon city selling the ornaments which

they had thus obtained. Another old woman drugged two men with *sharbat* at Benares in 1880, and a case which occurred in 1879 was also proved against her. One prostitute in Mirzapur drugged another as they were on their way together to a wedding. A very bad case occurred at Mainpuri in 1883. An old Brahmani woman with her son met a young man from Agra who was in want of a wife. She promised to find him one. Three friends accompanied him, and he took with him Rs. 100 in cash and some clothes for his expected bride. They came to Shikobabad, where the old woman drugged them all and disappeared, leaving three of them corpses. Three similar cases occurred about the close of 1882 in the Agra and Muttra Districts. In all of them an old Brahmani, accompanied by a lad, inveigled people away on the pretence of getting them married. The same pretext is sometimes adopted by male poisoners, as in the case of Biseswar Singh at Fyzabad, who pretended that he had two sisters ripe and ready for marriage. The well-known poisoner Miriam of Saharanpur, who was captured in 1877, told the same story. Ghulam Boli and two others came to her, and she promised Ghulam Boli her niece at Umballa. They set out on their road and reached Lakhnauti, where Miriam gave them all some sweet-cake (*malida*) to eat. After eating this they went on to Gangoh and there became insensible. Miriam then disappeared with Rs. 59-8-0 of their money. She had robbed a family in Karnal previously, pretending to be a midwife. Another old woman and a lad drugged two wayfarers in the Agra District in 1883; another woman drugged a family in their own house in Allahabad (February 1883); and a

third in Sultanpur, who had obtained shelter for the night, repaid the kindness by drugging and robbing her hosts (July 1883).

The lads who thus accompany old women are in training for their profession: sometimes they begin practice on their own account at an early age. A Brahman boy at Bahraich in May 1885 drugged a party of men travelling with the agent of the Raja of Mohsan. Although only twelve years old, this was his fifth appearance in the dock. Another boy, a few months later, cooked some pulse for three pilgrims from Gaya; and the pilgrims were picked up shortly afterwards insensible near the railway yard gate at Allahabad. This boy had been charged with committing a similar offence in the May previous, and had got off because the complainants, impatient of the law's delay, changed their story and attributed their delirium to the heat of the sun. Prostitutes are frequently victimised by their paramours, who make off with their jewellery; but occasionally, as in a case at Jhansi in 1878, a woman of this class proved herself too sharp for the poisoner and turned the tables on her pretended paramour.

Generally, however, the victims are very unsuspicious. A traveller is met by another, apparently as great a simpleton as himself; there is a rapid growth of friendship and an establishment of mutual confidence; then dhatura seeds are dropped into the cooking pot, mixed with the *sattu* (gruel) or gur (raw sugar), put in the pipe with the tobacco, or given in a sweetmeat to aid digestion; or arsenic is passed off as salt or mixed in a *sharbat*. The victim becomes ill, and the poisoner remains with him

rubs his legs, or otherwise tends him until he becomes unconscious. If the victim recovers he may find himself stark naked, as occurred to a fakir in Budaon and to Ganesh Brahman in Partabgarh, among others. Pilgrims are always easy victims, and hence the large number of crimes occurring near Ajudhya, Benares, and other holy places. Women too soon fall a prey: sometimes a whole party is worked off at once. The bodies of five women and a boy were found lying near a village path leading to Sirana, in the Agra District, in 1877; a party of three men were drugged by a Kurmi at a bathing ghât at Ajudhya in 1879; and a whole family of sweepers were drugged with poisoned *puris* at Etawah in 1883. It is not very surprising to find a confiding trooper or chaprassi (court-orderly) among the victims, but others who should be on the alert are at times equally unsuspicious. Two village watchmen at Atrauli, in the Fyzabad District, were drugged with sweetmeat balls on 3rd March 1878, and robbed of more than Rs. 300 which they were escorting to the Government Treasury. On the 8th January in the same year a police constable of Partabgarh District was drugged and robbed by the same man, who afterwards victimised the chaukidars; and a mounted constable in the Etawah District, who was conveying letters in October 1883, confidingly swallowed a poisoned pill recommended to him by an itinerant vendor of medicines. Thuggi has died out, but professional poisoning has to some extent taken its place. The men who practise it are actors of no mean order, and even when released after a long term of imprisonment, return to their old profession. The records average of 64 cases of poisoning per annum, 24

of which terminate fatally. The real number of cases is probably sensibly higher, as the victims who recover do not always report the crimes; nor in this respect do the village watchmen always do their duty.

The next class of murder is the murder of children by their mothers. In the majority of cases the murder of the child is accompanied by the suicide of the mother. There were 46 such cases in 1880 and 27 in 1881; then for three years there is a gap in the returns; in 1885 there were 48 cases and in 1886 there were 42. The average annual number would thus appear to be about 41. But sometimes the mother is rescued from the well alive, or the cold water of the canal brings her back to her sober senses and she manages to scramble out, although the children perish. These murders are usually the sequel to a domestic quarrel of some sort, generally between wife and husband, or between widow and paramour: but sometimes the deed is the result of grief at his death. The husband's brothers are mentioned in one instance, the husband's father in another, and the husband's mother in many others, as the indirect causes of the wife's crime. Shame is the motive in the case of illegitimate offspring. One woman is recorded as having had an intrigue with her own son-in-law. A girl of seventeen, who had not yet gone to live with her husband, poisoned her child with opium and dhatura; a Thakur widow suffocated her illegitimate baby; a Brahmani widow had a child by a Chamar; another had a child by a Brahman, and cut it in two with a bill-hook; a third killed her child and buried it in her own house. These cases may all be cited as instances of the evil

enforced widowhood. Another woman forced a needle into her child's brain; a second choked her infant with tobacco; a third thrust her baby into an earthen pitcher; a fourth battered in her child's head with a stone; a fifth placed her infant on a slab and strangled it by bending a stick over its windpipe. There were 52 convictions in four years, and if the convictions bore the ordinary proportion to the total number of cases, not only of convicted and acquitted, but also detected and undetected, this would give an average of 29 such cases per annum. There are, therefore, certainly not less than 70 cases in all every year of children of tender years murdered by their mothers. Indeed, the mere fact that there are 228 cases every year (2,503 in the eleven years) of exposure of infants or concealments of birth warrants the inference that the real number of infant-murders is far in excess of the annual average thus indicated.

Out of 390 murders therefore every year, 40 are the work of dacoits and robbers, 24 of professional poisoners, and 70 are cases of infants or young children murdered by their mothers. This leaves a tale of 256 murders per annum which are unclassified. In many cases where the murder remains undetected the motive must remain unknown. No annual record or further classification is attempted in the case of detected cases; but it is stated that out of 216 such cases in 1881, 107, or about one-half, arose out of quarrels connected with women; 70, or about one-third, were committed for the sake of plunder; and 39, or about one-sixth, were due to disputes about land. But these are the figures for a single year only, and afford no ground for any sure classification.

The number of murders in which there is a woman at the bottom of the matter is certainly very large. Infidelity is often punished by death, and in two cases which occurred in Unao in 1877, the women were not only killed but were subsequently beheaded. Jealousy often prompts the husband to murder his wife's paramour, and village sentiment sides with the husband and makes detection doubly difficult. Sometimes, as at Sultanpur in 1881, a man is not content with the life of his mistress, but murders her children also.

Among murders for the sake of plunder, those of children wearing ornaments are conspicuous. There were eight such cases in the single district of Meerut in one year and five in Cawnpore. Gambling is often responsible for similar crimes. A gambler in Hamirpur killed a boy and sold his ornaments for two rupees. Two youngsters in Aligarh, aged 13 and 14 respectively, murdered a comrade in 1881, simply to get money to gamble with. Some crimes undertaken for plunder are almost diabolical in their cold-bloodedness. At Kalianpur, in the Meerut District (1881), a whole family of five members were simply wiped out of existence one night while asleep in their beds. In 1878 the son of a Ghazipur zemindar, who had come to Benares on pilgrimage, lay down to sleep on the steps of the Mankarinka Ghât, one of the most sacred places in that sacred city. In the morning he was found with his throat cut and his feet tied to the pole of a large umbrella which had been fixed in the ground for shade. The crime had been committed for the sake of Rs. 10 which the lad had with him.

Quarrels about land are very frequent, and naturally

form one of the chief motives for murder. The most noteworthy case was that of Kuman Khan, in the Ghazipur District. He was a land-grabber, who had bought up the rights and property of a number of Rajput zemindars. As a landlord he proved a most ruthless tyrant. In 1881 the people waylaid him and put him to death.

Many murders occur in which the motives are apparently most curious and far-fetched. A woman in Bareilly was in 1881 murdered by her husband's brother and mother because she was of dirty habits. There was a series of most mysterious murders of beggar-men near Koil in 1877, the motive for which was never discovered; and in 1885 a Brahman was hanged at Muttra who appeared to have been making his livelihood by murdering little children. A boy was murdered at Mainpuri in 1878 for the purpose of offering a human sacrifice in a temple; and another was killed in Etah that same year by a leper who wanted to eat the lad's liver as a cure for his leprosy. A village schoolmaster in Aligarh (1881) killed one of his pupils; and a stepfather in the same district threw his two stepsons into the Ganges because he was tired of them. A man in Jhansi (1885) killed his daughter because his neighbour had slandered her, in order that the girl's blood might be upon the neighbour's head. A master murdered his servant (1881) and threw the body before his enemy's door, solely in order to bring a false charge against the latter. A similar case occurred in Azamgarh five years later: a boy was murdered by his grandfather and uncle; they threw the body into a sugarcane field, and then charged the owner with the crime. A still stranger story comes from the Muttra District: Randbir, a

Jat, who had once been a thriving man in Randbirpur, fell into the hands of the money-lenders, lost his property and his house, and became for some crooked reason embittered against his old fellow-villagers. He made up his mind to bring them into trouble. Taking his chopper with him he met a little Chamar girl, whom he took into a temple in Bahadurpur. There he cut her throat and slightly wounded himself, and then brought a charge of dacoity and murder against the people of his old village. No motive for murder, indeed, would seem to be too unnatural or far-fetched to be occasionally true.

Murders are less frequent in Oudh than in the N.-W. Provinces. The Hardoi District, with 161 murders in eleven years, or 16 to a lakh of inhabitants, heads the list in Oudh; and the Partabgarh District, with 54 murders in eleven years, or only seven per lakh of inhabitants, is the least guilty of the twelve districts. The N.-W. Provinces have a much wider range. Murders are most rife in the Rohilkhand and Agra divisions; while in the Benares and Kumaon divisions they are fewest in number. There have only been 90 murders in the large district of Gorakhpur in eleven years, or three to every lakh of the population; and in the neighbouring districts of Ballia and Basti the average during that time is only four to a lakh. The black list is headed by Shahjahanpur with 189 murders in eleven years; with not one-third the population of Gorakhpur it has more than double the number of murders, the average being 22 per lakh. Bareilly is responsible for 184 murders, or 18 per lakh; and Agra for 181, or 19 per lakh of the population. Farukhabad, Etah, Fatehpur, Budaon and Hamirpur fol-

low next in proportionate criminality. Lucknow and Hardoi are the only districts in Oudh which are on a par with any of these. It is curious, too, to notice that Shahjahanpur, where murders are rifest, is not a district pre-eminent in any other class of crime: it stands alone on that bad eminence, with the other districts in which murder is most frequent clustered close round it—Hardoi and Lucknow lying to the south, Bareilly to the north, and Budaon, Farukhabad, and Etah to the west of the district of Shahjahanpur. This is pre-eminently the murder circle. Agra and Hamirpur are districts apart, especially exposed to heavy dacoities which bring murder in their train; but within the murder circle itself no such explanatory cause avails. The crime is rifest within that circle, and that is all that can be said.

DACOITY.

Professional and Technical Dacoities—Grain Dacoities—Oudh compared with N.-W. P.—Dacoity by armed Gangs of Outlaws—Noted Dacoit Leaders—Dacoity by Ordinary Castes—Dacoity by Criminal Tribes: Sansyas, Kanjars, Nats, Mewatis, Biluchis, Haburas, Aheriyas, Baheliyas, Bhadaks, Beriyas—River Dacoity—Dacoity from Revenge and Private Quarrel—House Dacoity—Attacks on Public Vehicles, Mail-carts, &c.—Attacks on Private Vehicles and Travellers—Attacks upon Crops—Technical Dacoity.

DACOITY in the eyes of the law is robbery by a gang of five men or more. In the eyes of the policeman, however, there is a vast difference between the professional and the technical crime. The professional dacoit is a member of an organised gang, armed with sword or blunderbuss, and working generally by torchlight, but occasionally also in the day-time. The gang is headed by a known leader of approved merit in his profession. Occasional members may be admitted, or even pressed into service, for an expedition or two: but the regular members look upon dacoity as their permanent calling, which they ply as occasion offers from the time the rains cease until the rainy season recommences. A technical dacoity, on the other hand, is one carried out by amateurs who have no other right to the professional name than that they happen to be five or more in number. Technical dacoities are especially numerous in famine years, when bands of starving wretches, headed by two or three real

miscreants, plunder stores of grain. There were 108 of these grain dacoities in the year 1877. In August and September of that year the fortunate owner of a field of Indian-corn was obliged to encamp in his field, backed up by the able-bodied members of his family; for a man who was not prepared to fight for his crop reaped but little advantage therefrom. Grain riots broke out in September in Rohilkhand: beginning in the Budaon District they swept through the division. The rain came not, and hope died away. The outbreak was the result of utter despair. When the rain fell in October, riots and arsons ceased, and although suffering became far more acute until the rabi crops had ripened, still the people had hope for the future and did not relapse into crime. In the Lucknow division distress had the same results, the suffering being most acute, and crime for the time most rampant, in the Bara Banki District. Many of those, however, who joined the gangs were merely employed to carry off loads of the loot, and all that they got was a small present of grain in payment. Out of 261 dacoities committed in 1877 only 106 are classed as professional. From 1876 to 1886 the average number of dacoities per annum has been 109, while of these the professional crimes only average 85: so that two dacoities out of nine are merely technical dacoities.

The professional crime naturally is almost unknown in the hill districts, where there is little to loot. In Partabgarh also, and in Ballia, Benares, Jaunpur, Etawah and Muzaffarnagar there was very little dacoity from the year 1879 onwards. Throughout the Allahabad, Benares and Rae Bareli divisions this form of crime is light. In

Oudh generally dacoities are fewer in number and lighter in character than they are in the North-West Provinces. The number of actual dacoits is probably proportionately less, as many of the crimes are obviously the work of one and the same gang. A double dacoity of a trifling character occurred in the Lucknow District in January 1879, and two other double dacoities followed in the Unao District three months later. Two other cases, the work of one gang, occurred in the same district at the end of the following year: and there were similar cases about the same time in the neighbouring districts of Gorakhpur and Basti. These cases were probably all the work of one band, starting from Lucknow and working its way east to Patna. Now and then an Oudh dacoity is grotesquely absurd in its details. A large band of men plundered a house in the Fyzabad District in September 1880 at midday: they carried off all the contents, and ended by taking the roof off and carrying that away also! In 1883 the value of property stolen by dacoits in Oudh was only Rs. 3,000, while in the North-West Provinces it was nearly ten times that sum: in 1884 it was Rs. 2,603 in Oudh and over Rs. 43,000 in the North-West Provinces: in 1885 it was nearly Rs. 3,800 in Oudh and over Rs. 13,000 in the North-West. In these three years there were four house dacoities in the Bara Banki District; but barring these there were only three such dacoities for the remaining eleven districts, compared with no less than 24 in the North-West Provinces.

It is only in the lighter forms of dacoity that the numbers in some of the Oudh districts run high: the more serious crimes are almost confined to the North-West

districts. The Moradabad District with 41 dacoities from 1879 to the end of 1886, Agra with 39, Bareilly with 32, Aligarh with 30, Bijnor and Gonda with 29, Farukhabad with 26, and Muttra with 25 dacoities in the eight years, are the districts which have suffered most from this crime. Moradabad and Bareilly adjoin the Native State of Rampur: dacoits escape over the border from these districts, and also from Budaon and Bijnor. But the districts which suffer most from troublesome neighbours are Agra and Muttra. Agra lies open to the dacoits of Dholpur and Gwalior, and Muttra is similarly exposed on the side of Bhartpur. However excellently our police may be *en rapport* with those of the native authorities, there is generally a hitch at the border: the pursuit is dislocated and the fugitive dacoit gains a fatal start. Gonda similarly marches with Nepal, a State to which Roshan, Ganga Parshad Singh, Dhakkan Singh and other noted robbers fled for refuge.

The most serious class of dacoity is that committed by armed and organised gangs under the leadership of some proclaimed outlaw. The men are all more or less desperate characters, but the success of the gang depends greatly on the merit of its leader. A good dacoit leader is of no mean order. There is raw fighting material wasted in him, besides considerable skill in organisation and attack. He is ruthless and cruel, but he cuts down only those who resist, and tortures only for the betrayal of treasure. Bunnias in a wedding party give him no trouble: they invariably submit, whatever their numbers. They save their skins by arrant cowardice, and stand bleating like sheep with their heads in a circle, while their

women are rifled and their carts are pillaged. The dacoit leader will hold his blazing torch to a woman's breast to force her to disclose the treasure hoard; but his object is merely plunder and not wanton or purposeless cruelty. He must be ever on the alert against treachery; and in every expedition he carries his life in his hand. Fajju of Etah, like Raghunath of Hamirpur, was killed in open fight; Jampa, the Agra desperado, who had broken jail, and Budhu, his comrade, were shot in 1877, in the course of a hand-to-hand fight with Lieutenant Ryves, the District Superintendent of Police, and his Sub-Inspector, Ahmad Husain; Hulasi Sing, who escaped from the Fatehgarh Jail, and with him another dacoit leader, Budulla, were shot in 1878; Mangla and Khurgaya (Ahirs), leaders of two bands in the Hamirpur District, were shot on the same day in 1879. Three dacoits were killed by the Agra police in a hand-to-hand fight in 1881, and the Rana of Dholpur killed four in 1884. But the killing is not always on one side: a Sub-Inspector of Agra was shot in 1877, and many chaukidars have at times been seriously wounded. A zemindar, Fateh Singh of Rotha, was murdered in 1878 with his brother and daughter for having assisted the police. These dacoities, committed by known bands of outlaws, are the most serious crimes with which the police of the Provinces have to cope. Much depends on the capture of the leader; although as the old marauders die off or are arrested, new leaders with bands of well-chosen followers spring up to take their place. The famine year 1877 was disastrous to dacoit leaders. Of twenty-four who were abroad at its commencement, all but seven had been shot or hanged or

transported at its close: Roshan, the ablest of the seven, slunk away into Nepal into an obscurity from which he never emerged.

The most daring dacoit of the year was Fajju of Etah, who was killed in Mainpuri. He was rapid in his movements, led a large and well-armed gang, and was ably seconded by his brother Kushali and his henchman Roshan. His career in 1877 was short and brilliant. On the 27th January he led a band of Ahirs in an attack on the house of Mohan, a money-lender of Nagla Ananj in the Mainpuri District. Lachman (Ahir), who planned the dacoity, owed Mohan money and a grudge. Mohan was caught sleeping outside his house and was killed by a sword-cut, and another man who came to his assistance was wounded. The next affair was of a similar nature. It occurred in the Fatehgarh District on the 11th February. Fajju had sent spies on ahead to reconnoitre, and his gang, armed with guns, assembled at the house of one Mokhan. They scaled the roof, bound the servants whom they found sleeping there, and got down into the house. They then seized the women of the house and burned them with torches, and so forced them to point out where the money was concealed. The villagers meanwhile were kept at a distance by the guns. Fajju then went back to the Mainpuri District again and was joined by Kushali, Roshan, Chajita, Behari and other professionals. They made up a gang of about twenty men, but they imprudently impressed into their service two Ahirs who afterwards turned Queen's evidence. Their object this time was the house of a woman, named Mankuar, the mistress of Chaudhri Gajadhar Singh. On

the 21st February after midnight the gang attacked her house at Lakhaura. At first they tried to gain admission without violence; they knocked at her door and said that they had been sent from another village to settle a long-standing dispute. Mankuar, however, refused to unlock the door; and when they began to shake it, she jumped out of a back window and made her escape to the Sarai. The dacoits then brought a long ladder and got in through the roof. After this affair the gang rested from their labours for nearly a month. Fajju went to Etah. Some men of Mohaniya, however, needed his services, and Fajju, Roshan, and Kushali came to the Fatehgarh District again and put up with one Sadasukh (Brahman) at Gayanpur. The gang on this occasion consisted of 25 men, armed as usual with guns and swords. On the night of the 16th March, about 11 P.M., taking torches with them, they attacked the house of Loknath (Brahman). He and his son were wounded, and were then beaten until they disclosed where their valuables were kept. Fajju's fifth and last exploit for the year was eight days later, at the village of Kumrehna in the Mainpuri District. The Ahir zemindars (land-holders) had a natural feud with a Marwari, Maya Ram, and invoked the aid of Fajju to put an end to the money-lender's existence. Fajju had a larger party than usual, some fifty or sixty, but only a dozen of them were armed. They assembled at the neighbouring village of Nagla Bhari. Maya Ram and his two sons made a gallant resistance, but Maya Ram was shot dead and both his sons were wounded. The dacoits then tortured the women, burning them with torches, and finally

decamped with property worth Rs. 9,000. With Fajju's disappearance from the scene dacoities in the district of Mainpuri ceased for a whole year (1878), and from 1879 onwards the average number for the district has only been two per annum.

In 1878 the most noted leaders were two Jat brothers, Gajju Singh and Girwar. Six dacoities were committed in six months, for which these two outlaws were responsible. Pancham, a proclaimed outlaw of the Muttra District, belonged to their gang, as also did two noted dacoits, Ranjit and Ramphal. Most of their followers came from Gwalior and Bhartpur, but there were some from the Etawah District—clumsy recruits, eight of whom were caught by the police in a single dacoity. Gajju Singh had escaped from jail, being one of four men who, in 1857, had murdered a Rajput enemy of their own—one Thakurdas. Girwar joined his brother on his escape, and as soon as they had raised their gang they began work in the Bhartpur State. Then they crossed over to Agra and attacked the house of a wealthy merchant living in the suburbs of the city. They had a tussle with the police and got the best of it, severely wounding several men. The gang then went on to Sikandra and looted a house there. In the next month (February 1878), they entered the house of a merchant of Sarurpur, also in the Agra District, and wounded one of the women with a sword. In May the gang, under Girwar, plundered a house at Bhadawa in the Muttra District. Here also they had a smart fight with the police and villagers, and lost one man killed and one captured. A policeman and several villagers were wounded, but the dacoits got off

with their booty. Their next attempt was in the Etawah District, but the plunder on this occasion was small. They then went off to Cawnpore—Gajju had taken a prominent part in a dacoity in this district in the previous December—to hunt up the brother of their old enemy Thakurdas. In this, however, they were frustrated; so they returned to the Etawah District and committed another dacoity there. The plunder in these five cases came to Rs. 6,500. Girwar, Pancham, and Ranjit were subsequently caught in the Bhartpur State, Ramphal was arrested in Agra, and Gajju departed to Bikanir.

From this time up to 1885 there was a decided lull in dacoities worked by armed and organised gangs. There were only six cases in the three years 1879 to 1881, and no cases at all in the following three years. The six cases all occurred in Bundelkhand. Three of them in 1879 were the work of a gang led by two Ahirs—Mangla and Khurjaya—in the Hamirpur District. The other three were the work of a gang led by Raghunath Khangar, two of his dacoities occurring in Hamirpur and the third in Jhansi. The villagers themselves were against Raghunath, but he was able to count on the village watchmen, nearly all of whom were his fellow-castemen, and on the apathy of the Garauli Chief, who would render no assistance towards his capture. Some men indeed, belonging to this jagir, had been suspected of dacoity in the previous year. The year 1881, however, saw the close of this daring borderer's career. His Lieutenant, Ramlal, was arrested in Jhansi, and the band was broken up and dispersed.

When the customs hedge was abolished there was

considerable apprehension that the entry of armed bands of dacoits into British territory would be facilitated thereby. For some years, however, these fears were not realised. There were eight dacoities by bands of outlaws in 1878, only three in 1879, two in 1880, one in 1881, and then for two years there were none at all: but in 1884 this class of dacoity recommenced. Owing to the somewhat lawless state of the country beyond the frontier and to the frequent raids by outlaws, posts of mounted and foot police were established in the Agra and Etawah Districts along the Gwalior and Dholpur frontiers. This frontier guard was able to oppose the entry of any armed gangs *en masse*, although it could not, of course, detect the passage of single members of a gang, apparently unarmed, with their weapons hidden in their baggage. Five dacoities by armed gangs occurred in 1884. Two in the Agra District were committed within four days by mounted dacoits from Dholpur; the other three were the work of a dozen armed and mounted outlaws from Gwalior, led by Ganga Pershad Singh. They began work on the 25th April, entering the house of one Nand Kishore, in the village of Nagla Birbal, in the Etah District. From thence they went to Tarapur in the Mainpuri District, where they plundered the house of a native banker on the 1st May. Later on the gang was attacked by the police at Jatpura, but escaped to Naurozghat on the Sardha, where they met a party of Bunnias on ponies. The proceeds of these three dacoities approached Rs. 10,000; but before the end of the year the gang was broken up, and in the following year Ganga Pershad Singh and his son were

shot in open fight. With his death in Gwalior the regular invasion by dacoits from over the Chambal ceased for a time, but a daring dacoity from the Dholpur territory was committed in 1886, and five large gangs crossed over into Agra from Gwalior and Dholpur during that year.

In 1885 the most noted leader of the year was a Thakur, Dhakkan Singh, who had escaped from the Bareilly Jail in 1884. In November of that year he shot Bakhtawar Singh, the man who had been mainly instrumental in getting him convicted; he then took to the jungles with a few followers, plundering foot-travellers in the Shahjahanpur, Kheri, and Pilibhit Districts. His dacoities, however, were never very heavy. When pressed by the police his gang took refuge in Nepal. The hunt still continued; some skirmishes followed; Dhakkan Singh's lieutenant was mortally wounded, and the gang dispersed. Two were convicted; two others died; and Dhakkan Singh himself, broken down by fever and anxiety, sought refuge in Shahjahanpur, where he was forthwith betrayed, arrested, and hanged.

This closes the roll of dacoities by outlaw gangs, a description always classified apart because of the character of the men who form the gangs. They are outlaws and desperadoes, whose hands are against every man's. Dacoity is their trade. But though these men may do it with the more grace, there are others who certainly do it not less naturally. These are the criminal tribes, who for the most part live in small tents or leaf pals, and lead a vagrant life. Not that they are solely responsible. Ahirs and Thakurs are frequently engaged in tolerably stiff gang-robberies. A band of

Chamars attacked a couple of ekkas going to Machlishahr in 1878. Some Gadis committed a dacoity in Budaon in the previous year. Three separate parties in the Bahraich District, travelling to attend the Sayad Salar Fair in May 1884, were plundered by a band of Sikh dacoits. Khatiks committed a series of seven dacoities in the Gonda District, in the first week of 1883. Pasis occasionally take to the crime. One gang plundered a party of Hindu pilgrims on their way to Ajudhiya in January 1883; another gang, hailing from Bara Banki, plundered a Sitapur trader two months later; a third gang stopped some cartmen in the Azamgarh District, beating them severely and then robbing them; and a fourth lot, coming from the Nepal territory, robbed a man and woman of Basti in March of the following year. The dacoits, in all these cases, belonged to castes which, as a rule, are peaceable and well-behaved.

But although dacoity is often committed by castes of comparatively good repute, the case against them is much less serious than the indictment which must be brought against the regular criminal tribes. In 1881 there were 67 arrests made in cases of dacoity, and in 34 of these cases the offenders belonged to some one or other of these tribes. There were 39 cases tried in 1886, and in 22 of these the dacoity was their work. Perhaps the most irreclaimable are the Sansyas and Kanjars—two tribes closely akin, if not actually identical. A band of fifteen wandering Sansyas attacked a bridal party in the Bulandshahr District in January 1878. They went to the bride's cart and took all her jewellery, despite the presence of thirty men. Some Bunniahs, on their way to

a fair in the Bareilly District, were robbed by them some months later. In June 1879, a gang of Sansyas committed five dacoities in three nights, close to the city of Shahjahanpur. Another band, two years later, were concerned in a string of sixteen dacoities in Moradabad and Bijnor. Sixteen Sansyas with muffled faces stopped nine wayfarers in 1883, on the road from Haidargarh to Nawabganj, in the Bara Banki District, thrashed them severely and robbed them of all they had. Two dacoities, which took place in the Aligarh District in the following year, were traced to men of the same tribe.

Kanjars used to be conspicuous in the attacks on camel-carts until armed escorts were provided. They made two such attacks in the Agra District in 1877, plundered the camel-cart on the Muttra road in 1879, and looted no less than six shigrams on the same road in the following year. They were detected in two other dacoities in the Agra District in 1878 and in another in 1879. In the latter year they also stopped a party of Bengali ladies who had been visiting the Muttra shrines and robbed them in broad daylight. The Agra District is their favourite hunting-ground: all the above cases occurred within its limits. A party of Chamars of this district were stopped in 1883 as they were coming home from market, and the Kanjars robbed them of their hides. They occasionally appear in other parts of the Province. Two parties of travellers in the Farukhabad District were robbed by a band of seven Kanjars in May 1883; and in February of that year a party of fourteen men, travelling in three carts on a bye-road in the Unao District, were severely beaten and then robbed by a dozen Kanjars. In Bara Banki in the same

year a band of seven robbed a pedlar of his bundle as he was on his way to market. They are expert foot-pads. Their women, in the Deccan at least, are noted for their handsome looks, their command of native Billingsgate, and their extremely filthy songs.

Akin to the Kanjars are the Nats, who get their living professedly by fortune-telling, rope-dancing, and sleight-of-hand tricks. A gang belonging to this tribe committed a dacoity close to the Orai police station in May 1878; another party robbed some travellers on the Rampur boundary in July 1883; and a third gang was hired by a Jat to attack a wedding party in the Bijnor District in March 1884. Occasionally Greek meets Greek. A band of Haburas plundered some Nats who had encamped in the Aligarh District in May 1879, and another party of Nats were equally unfortunate in Kheri in 1884. A similar case occurred in December 1880, in which, however, a Kanjar was the sufferer.

Mussalmans—Mewatis and Biluchis—are also found among dacoits. Mewatis were engaged in a Bulandshahr dacoity in 1877. In February 1883 twelve Mewatis hearing of a rich man's absence from his house in Meerut, and knowing his wife to be frail, if not fair, tapped at her door at night. She opened it, and they rushed in and carried off nearly everything they could lay hands on. On the 4th February in the ensuing year seven Mewatis from Bulandshahr plundered a house in the adjoining district of Aligarh.

Biluchis generally come in by rail from Umballa. A band of them were arrested at Saharanpur in 1877. They were going about the country with dancing bears and

monkeys, after the fashion of Nats or of Kaikaris in the Deccan. Early in 1882 another band was arrested at a railway station in the Saharanpur District. Three dacoities had occurred on the night of the 19th November 1881 on the Dehra road, three sets of travellers in succession being plundered of all their property. Two nights later three dacoities occurred on the Rurki road. Then there was a lull; but the gang committed their seventh dacoity on the Muzaffarnagar road before being captured at a small railway station with all their plunder on them.

Haburas are another troublesome tribe. Their headquarters are in the Aligarh District, where small huts made of leaves and grass shelter the women and children, while the men are absent on business. The "weaker vessels" look always as if they were on the verge of starvation, and they and their children gain a meagre livelihood by killing "small deer" in the jungle and committing petty thefts in the fields. The men turn their attention chiefly to the Bulandshahr and Budaon Districts. On the 13th February 1877 a gang plundered three boats, laden with grain, which had pulled up for the night at the Gangaoli canal bridge. They began by throwing stones at the boatmen: they then made a rush at the boats and used their *lathis* freely. Having quelled all opposition, they leisurely carried off all the grain, clothes, cooking-pots and cash. In June 1878, and again six years later, bands of pilgrims on their way to bathe at Ramghat were attacked and robbed by Haburas. Two parties of merchants, and a third party of grain-dealers, in the Budaon District were similarly plundered

in the first half of 1878; and out of fifteen Haburas who were arrested in the third case five were old convicts. The carts of a Deputy Collector were pillaged on the borders of Bulandshahr in February 1884, and in May of the same year another gang committed two dacoities in that district. Haburas are rarely met with outside the three districts already mentioned, although a gang committed a petty dacoity in the Etah District in March 1884, and some traders in the Kheri District were plundered by Haburas about the same time. These however are solitary cases.

The only other criminal tribes that need be especially mentioned are the Aheriyas, Baheliyas, Beriyas, and Badhaks. The first two are fowlers by profession, and are said to be ethnologically akin. Like Haburas, Aheriyas have their home in the Aligarh District, and, unlike Haburas, they confine their attention pretty well to their home circle. In February 1879 a band plundered an octroi outpost close to a large town; in January 1879 they robbed some carts returning from the Hathras bazaar; and in November 1884 they committed a dacoity of the old style on a Borah's house in Jamua village, also in the Aligarh District. The Aheriyas, eleven in number, were armed. The merchant was knocked down and wounded, and his women-folk were stripped of their ornaments. The cries of the women brought some villagers to the spot. The Aheriyas decamped with their spoil, but were followed to their huts, where they turned round and defended themselves against the police.

Baheliyas are found in many districts, but appear to

be most troublesome in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore. A gang of thirty plundered three bullock-train carts on the Grand Trunk Road between that city and Fatehpur. In 1884 some travellers in the Cawnpore District, who were on their way home for the Dasehra festival, were stopped by a gang of Baheliyas hailing from the Etawah and Mainpuri Districts: the dacoits stole three bullocks and all the women's jewellery.

Badhaks are only mentioned in the Sitapur and Kheri Districts, where they worked a couple of dacoities in June 1883: but the paucity of reports containing their names does not necessarily argue a reform of character. "They pervade the country in the guise of Bairagis and Jogis; they can assume the appearance of helpless cripples, and disguise themselves in numberless ways and pass undetected. They no more earn their livelihood now than they did in Colonel Sleeman's time." So says the Deputy Inspector-General of Police in his Report for 1883.

In that year the Banda District was infested by Beriyas from the Chirkari State. A bridal party was stopped and looted; in three different cases, women of Busenda, who had gone outside their village after dusk, were seized and stripped of their ornaments; a man had his leg broken by a *lathi*-blow; two cartmen were stopped on consecutive nights within five miles of Banda itself, and one of the men died from the beating he received; three parties of market-folk on their way home were robbed near Tindwari; and a party of country-folk, travelling in a cart, were attacked near Baberu, and the old man who had custody of the cash was hurt so seriously that he died. In the following year there was a serious dacoity near the Bindki

bazaar, in the Fatehpur District—the work of a band of thirteen Beriyas from Rae Bareli; and two cases occurred in the Hamirpur District on the same night and within three miles of each other. One of the Beriyas in the Fatehpur case moved northward to Rae Bareli, and was caught in the following May after taking part in a dacoity on some Bunniahs returning from market.

The Inspector-General of Police, in his Report of 1881, attributed one-half of the minor land dacoities and large robberies to members of the criminal vagrant tribes. River dacoity is, on the other hand, now unknown, although cases are not wanting of attacks on boats: one which occurred in 1877 has been already mentioned in connection with Haburas. In March 1878 a grain-laden boat was loosed from its moorings by villagers in the Farukhabad District, taken to the opposite bank and plundered; and in July of the same year a boat which was anchored at the Chikri Ghât in Ghazipur was attacked at midnight by 25 men. In March 1879 a Brahman, who was taking jawar down the Kariali river in two dug-outs, was attacked by ten men while he slept. But the only case remotely resembling a real river dacoity was one which occurred on the bank of the Sarju river near Raipur, in the Fyzabad District, on the night of the 3rd January 1878. The servants of a banker were bringing up a boat-load of grain from Chapra, and had pulled up for the night. They were attacked by fifteen men in a small boat, who carried off a bag apiece. There was reason, however, to suspect that the boatmen themselves were the thieves. River dacoities, therefore, may be said to be non-existent.

Dacoities, sometimes of a very serious nature, often take their rise in private quarrels. The sensational case of the year 1877 was of this type. Hulas Singh, a wealthy zemindar of Moradabad, had won a lawsuit against his uncle. The uncle with three of his relatives, a *fakir*, and four other men attacked the house, killed two servants who resisted them, pursued Hulas Singh into a room, and shot him as he tried to escape. They then looted the place, stole the horse of Hulas Singh, and succeeded in picking up two other horses, on which the three men who had committed the murders rode off. They were pursued by the police for 25 miles and tracked into a grove. Seeing the mounted constables, the murderers saddled their horses again, fired at the police and tried to get away. One of them, however, was shot and the other two were cut down. In this case the dacoits were not professionals; but in a case which occurred a month later in the same district, a Chaudhri, Shahabudin, called in the aid of a party of Gadi dacoits, to take revenge upon a grasping money-lender, Tikaram. Shahabudin owed Tikaram Rs. 3,000. The dacoits wounded the money-lender and his son, and forced them to give up Rs. 2,000 in cash and jewellery. Two zemindars of Mainpuri in this same year raised a gang of thirty Thakurs and Ahirs to attack the house of Lachman Mahajan at Nagla Niamat. The money-lender managed to hide himself in a field, and his wife also escaped with her two boys; but the son's wife was caught by the dacoits, and burned on the breast, hip and arm, because she could not show them where the valuables were kept. The dacoits carried off more than Rs. 3,000 worth of

property. Two curious instances of dacoities from private revenge came from the little Native State of Dattiya. On the 3rd June 1877 one Jagannath, aided by a notable ruffian, Gajraj, came with a band of thirty men and plundered the house of the lumberdar of Jaganpura, in the Jalaon District. Jagannath was discovered from his addressing the lumberdar's niece by name. Then in December 1885 one Hindupat Singh, the son of Rao Parichat, a famous dacoit who fell in the Mutiny fighting for the Rani of Jhansi, and himself a man of position in the Dattiya State, rode with sixteen mounted followers into British territory and plundered the house of a money-lender of Jhansi, with whom he had a quarrel. Another case, apparently prompted by private revenge, occurred at the village of Basauli, in Budaon, in February 1879. A well-to-do Bunniah, Puran by name, went to make his offerings at a shrine in the neighbourhood. While he was away a Thakur, named Partab, engaged four Sansyas, and attacked Puran's house. They strangled his wife and child with a turban, carried off Rs. 4,000 in bullion and set fire to the house. Puran returned in two days to find his house in flames, his hoard rifled, and his wife and son corpses, disfigured by distinct marks of strangulation. Another distinct case of revenge occurred in the attack on a Brahman's house in the Sitapur District in May 1879. Very little plunder was taken, but the leader of the party raped the Brahman's wife. In December 1885 the house of a prosperous money-lender in the Bareilly District was entered by a band of men armed with swords and guns. His strong box was broken open, but the object was not plunder. The

money-lender himself was unnecessarily and brutally murdered, and it was believed in the country side that the motive was pure revenge.

Land dacoities of the ordinary minor type (or, in other words, excluding those committed by gangs of outlaws) are divided into four classes. The most important class, containing the heaviest and most daring cases, is that of attacks upon houses and enclosures. This form of dacoity was frequently accompanied in old times by gross torture and outrage, but the old features of burning and ravishing are now exceptional. Several remarkable house dacoities have already been mentioned; but there are a few others which merit some notice. Two cases occurred in Muttra—one on the 31st December 1877, and the second on the 6th January 1878—in which the total amount of plunder was Rs. 6,700. There were two similar dacoities in the Agra District in 1881, in which the Agra police pursued the dacoits into Gwalior territory, killed three of them, and arrested 25 others. Another heavy case occurred in the same district in 1883, the plunder amounting to Rs. 17,600. The dacoits were armed with swords and guns: they killed one of the servants of the house, and also wounded one of their own members accidentally. They carried off their wounded comrade through the night, but when day broke they ran a sword through him and left his body on the road. The body was identified by the dead man's mother. She told her story, which was corroborated by one of the gang who was subsequently captured. The dacoits in this case were amateurs from the Dholpur and Gwalior States.

A dacoity occurred in February 1878 in one of the suburbs of Jaunpur city, in which property to the value of Rs. 1,600 was carried off; at another in August 1883, at Piranpur, in the Mainpuri District, the plunder exceeded Rs. 1,200. There were three heavy cases in 1884. On the night of the 31st May the house of a Borah of Kachaura was attacked by a band of 27 men armed with swords and guns. The attack was instigated by one of the Borah's debtors and was planned by a Thakur of the Agra District. He collected 21 dacoits from his own district, and these were joined by two men from Etah and four from Aligarh. There was a good deal of firing of guns, but no great injury was done. A case in the Etah District was more mysterious in its nature, as no plunder was taken. Naubat Rao and his wife were sleeping on the roof of their house. Waking up in the night, they found two men standing over them who, when asked what they wanted, demanded the wife's jewellery. On being refused, one of the robbers wounded the wife with a sword, and struck at the husband with his *lathi*. Naubat Rao shouted for aid: the village watchman came up, questioned the men on the roof, and was straightway shot dead in reply. The men then got down by a ladder, rejoined their comrades and made off; but nothing was stolen. The only other case of this kind which need be noticed is one which occurred in the Mirzapur District in January 1884. A woman's house was entered by ten or twelve men armed with swords and *lathis*. They carried off cash and jewellery. The villagers turned out, but were assured by the dacoits that they were policemen conducting a search! As they left the village the *soi-disant*

policemen met the village watchman, and knocked him down with a *lathi* blow. Dacoity of this class, as has been already pointed out, is scarcely known in Oudh outside the Bára Banki District. In the North-West Provinces the Agra and Aligarh districts show the heaviest record for the three years 1883 to 1885; Meerut coming next, followed by Bareilly and Moradabad.

The next class of dacoity includes attacks upon public vehicles, such as mail-carts and camel shigrams. Sometimes the driver is in league with the dacoits. A cart was attacked about five miles from Farrah, in the Agra District; a year afterwards, in June 1878, the same cart, driven by the same driver, was again attacked by eight men at the same spot. Some dacoities of this class have already been mentioned in connection with Kanjars. Attacks were formerly of frequent occurrence. Two shigrams were attacked on the road from Agra to Fatehabad in the early part of 1877; a mail-cart was stopped near Gambhirpur police station (Azamgarh) in May of the same year and the driver and the syce were wounded; three carts in the Gorakhpur District were robbed, also in 1877, and three others in Unao in May 1878. There were two similar cases in Bulandshahr, one in Saharanpur, and one in Budaon in the former year. A string of 28 camels was attacked on the road between Agra and Karaoli in January 1878, and a smaller string of four camels was plundered on the same road within the week. In the same month a camel-cart was stopped by twelve men on the road from Sultanpur to Fyzabad and the passengers were robbed of clothes and cash, within five hundred paces of the fort occupied by Mahadat Singh,

talukdar. In April of the same year a merchant and his family returning to their home were stopped and plundered of more than Rs. 500 within the Agra Cantonment boundaries. Two camel-carts on their way to Muttra were stopped by twenty men in January of this year, and about the same time five men going home from Banda with two carts were attacked and robbed. A singular case occurred three months later in the same district: a shigram on the high road between Fatehpur and Banda was stopped and plundered. One of the occupants escaped in the dark and made towards Banda. On his way he met another shigram, and then a mail-cart. He warned both the drivers; but they paid no heed, went on, and were attacked and plundered on the same spot. Another camel shigram was attacked on the same road in September 1880. In 1879 camel shigrams were stopped and plundered on the Hathras road in the Agra District, on the Shikohabad road in the Mainpuri District, on the Mainpuri road in the Etawah District, on the Aonla road in the Budaon District, and on the Meerut road in the Moradabad District. A tonga also shared the fate of the last of these five shigrams, and three carts belonging to a Borah were robbed together with the fourth shigram. One on the Kalpi road to Cawnpore, however, fared better, as the robbers were driven off.

The number of attacks on public vehicles had risen to 20 in 1878 and to 21 in 1879. It was then decided to arm the drivers and guards of mail-carts. The number of attacks in 1880 fell to 15, some of them, however, being very bold. In October a camel-cart was attacked within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of a police station in the Azamgarh

District; another, plying on the Jhansi road, was plundered by ten men in the Allahabad District; and the year closed with three attacks within four days on the road between Bareilly and Pilibhit. In the Agra division, however, the number of attacks fell from 14 to 2, and in the following years a similar improvement followed throughout the Province generally. The total number of attacks fell to six in 1881, to five in 1882, to three in 1883 and 1884, and to none at all in 1885. Now and then the guards fail in their duty, and dacoits take advantage of their neglect. A party of men in Budaon, in January 1884, set fire to a hut where they had failed to get food. They then attacked the camel-cart and the postal runner on the Etah road. The foot constable, who should have been on duty, had left his charge altogether; and the mounted constable was found by the dacoits comfortably inside the shigram. Marriage processions are a favourite object for attack, as there is always plenty of jewellery to be had for the looting. Sometimes, as at Bhawanigarh in Rae Bareli, a gang loots a couple of wedding parties on the same night.

Attacks on private vehicles and travellers, which form the next class of dacoity, are the work of ordinary foot-pads. The Beriyas have already been noticed in this connection. Occasionally a heavy haul is made. A cart full of property belonging to the Raja of Nagode was plundered near Bindachal, in the Mirzapur District, in March 1879, and the value of the loot was nearly Rs. 3,000. In December 1880 a gang of foot-pads committed three robberies in the Basti District, and another gang committed two in Gorakhpur on market-folk return-

to their homes. A heavy case occurred in the Jhansi strict, a few yards only inside the British frontier, in ril 1883 : a native lady travelling in a cart with her endants was robbed, it was thought, by Thakurs from e small Native State of Tikamgarh, and lost over s. 1,100. Three serious cases occurred in the Hamirur District in the following year. But the dacoities generally which are the work of foot-pads, though far more numerous, are less serious than the attacks on houses and on public vehicles. There were 32 attacks on houses in the three years 1883 to 1885, and the dacoits netted on the average Rs. 1,900 in each case. Six attacks on public vehicles in the same time only brought them in Rs. 200 for each dacoity. In the same three years there were 157 dacoities by foot-pads, but the average amount of plunder only reached Rs. 140. Professional dacoity generally, and this class in particular, fell to a very low ebb in 1885, but recovered again in 1886. There were 89 dacoities by foot-pads in 1882 and only 29 in 1885. During that year and the two preceding years Aligarh, Agra, and Gonda were the districts most troubled, nine cases occurring in each: Jhansi and Unao had seven apiece; and Bareilly, Budaon, Fatehpur, and Banda followed with six.

The remaining class of dacoity, which includes attacks upon crops, fields, melon-beds and the like, is, in years of ordinary plenty, a matter of but trifling importance.

Besides these well-defined classes of professional crime there also occur every year an uncertain number of cases of technical dacoity. This crime is more varied in its incidents and its origin, as it only becomes dacoity from

the accident of its fulfilling the legal definition of th
crime ; and at the same time technical dacoity is usua
much less serious in its results than the crime undertak
and executed by the professional dacoit.

ROBBERY.

Professional Robbery—Local Distribution of the Crime— Robbery in Famine Years—Highway Robbery—Minor Forms of Robbery—Mail Robberies.

ABOUT one-third of the robberies committed in these Provinces are committed by professional robbers; and this one-third is crime of a much more serious nature than the remaining two-thirds. In professional robbery of this nature Aligarh and Agra, the homes of so many criminal tribes, are the districts which suffer most. Then follows the large district of Gorakhpur with its 2,600,000 inhabitants; and after this come the districts of Fatehpur and Budaon. Oudh generally suffers much less than the North-West Provinces from this class of heavy crime, and in the six other districts of the Benares division the numbers of professional robberies are small. In the Meerut district itself there is occasionally a serious outbreak, as in the year 1885, but in the remaining four districts of that division professional robbery is light: and so also in the Bijnor, Farukhabad, Etawah, and Jaunpur districts. When we come, however, to look at robberies generally, and to include the non-professional crimes, then the aspect changes. The lighter crimes committed in Oudh, some of which would probably escape report in the North-West Provinces, swell the roll. Agra with 279 robberies in the eleven years (1876-1886) still heads the list in the North-West Provinces: comparing this number with the total

male population in 1881, the proportion is 53 per lakh. Moradabad is responsible for 264 robberies or 43 per lakh; and Aligarh for 233, or 42 per lakh. So that from robbery of every kind, whether committed by professional foot-pads or by occasional *badmashes*, Agra and Aligarh suffer more than other districts. Budaon has a list of 124 robberies in the eleven years, or 40 per lakh. But so far as mere numbers go five out of twelve Oudh districts equal or surpass this record. Sultanpur has a roll of 286 robberies, or 60 per lakh, surpassing even Agra. Fyzabad has 273, or 50 per lakh; Bahraich is responsible for 211, or 46 per lakh; Rae Bareili for 201, or 43 per lakh; and Bara Banki falls to the level of Budaon, with 208 robberies in the eleven years, or 40 to every lakh of men in the district. In the Sitapur division of Oudh, on the other hand, as in the Benares division of the North-West, the incidence of the crime generally is light. Agra and Aligarh again are the only two heavy districts in the divisions to which they respectively belong.

During times of scarcity robbery, like other offences against property, rises in frequency as distress spreads and deepens. In 1877 and 1878 there were 672 and 682 robberies in these Provinces; whereas in the other nine years the average number was only 466 per annum. Occasionally there is a special outbreak in certain districts, as in Bara Banki in 1885 and 1886; in Budaon in 1884; and in Azamgarh in 1886.

Highway robbery committed between sunset and sunrise is the most serious description of the crime, and is very difficult of detection. The attack of the foot-pad is sudden and unexpected. The ordinary salutation of the

professional robber is a *lathi*-blow on the head. As the wayfarer is returning from market after nightfall, or is slowly jogging along with his bullock-cart, two or three men suddenly spring out from their hiding-place, and he is knocked insensible by a blow which may or may not happen to kill him. His clothes are searched, his cart is pillaged, and the robbers decamp before he recovers consciousness. Nearly one-third of the entire number of robberies are of this description.

Robbery may be defined as theft accompanied by violence or extortion, and a very common form of the offence consists in the snatching of nose-rings from women, or ornaments from children. In the six years, 1881 to 1886, there were 770 robberies of this description —in other words, nearly 28 per cent. A more serious form of crime is robbery by means of poisoning or administering stupefying drugs, an offence which was described at length in a previous paper. A comparatively unimportant form of robbery is that from gardens or fields: one offence in every sixteen is of this description. Some so-called robberies are really offences of a very mild type. "If two men have a dispute about a dung-heap, and one carts it away, the trivial dispute is often magnified by some pettifogging native lawyer into a terrible robbery."

One class of robbery important in kind is happily not of very frequent occurrence. This is mail robbery. For looting a mail-cart on the main road more than four men are required, so that the case is then one of dacoity; but a lonely postal-runner carrying bags to some village office can be managed by two or three foot-pads. In eleven years ninety-nine cases of mail robbery have

been reported; there were eleven cases in the first year of famine and seventeen in the second, the property stolen being valued at Rs. 3,000 in the former year and nearly Rs. 5,000 in the latter. When sub-offices for the payment of money-orders were established there was reason to fear that robbery of the mail-bags would become more general. The money to meet the orders was at first sent from the local district office in the same bag as the advice: no attempt at secrecy was made; the carrier knew very well what he had in his bag, and was thus tempted to get up a collusive robbery for the benefit of himself and friends; and if they restricted themselves to taking hard cash detection became impossible. A change of system was therefore introduced in 1881, and money was sent weekly or monthly, the carrier being accompanied by an armed escort. In that year there were only seven robberies: the property taken was only Rs. 440, and most of it was recovered. A letter-carrier in Lalitpur was indeed wounded, and the bags were carried off into the neighbouring State of Chanderi; but in Muttra, on the other hand, the policeman fired at the robbers and dropped his man. Next year, although there were only eight cases, the value of the property stolen rose to Rs. 4,647. Two of these robberies were committed by the same gang, and on the same night, on the Lucknow road in the Bahraich District. The robbers made the mistake, however, of taking currency notes in addition to other articles. The notes were for Rs. 4,600; but their numbers were known and advertised, and a man was arrested at Fatehpur when trying to cash them. In 1883 the only serious case which occurred was in the Jhansi District. The postal-runner

was attacked on the Cawnpore road by three men: they opened the mail-bag and took out a packet of jewellery worth Rs. 650. Next year also the only heavy case occurred in Bundelkhand, and like the 1881 case it occurred in the Lalitpur District. The robbery arose, as such robberies often do, through the indiscretion of a man who expected some valuables by post, and who took the general public into his confidence. The runner bringing that particular bag was stopped, and bullion worth Rs. 2,000 was taken. The robbers were not recognised, and the melting-pot in such cases is called at once into requisition, so that identification of the property becomes hopeless. In the following year Lalitpur was again the scene of a mail robbery. A merchant was expected to travel by a mail-cart with a large sum of money, and some robbers from a neighbouring State lay in wait for him on the road. They were disappointed, however, as for some reason he put off his journey; and to console themselves, they plundered the mail-bag in place of the merchant.

There were six mail robberies in that year, but the one just mentioned was the only case in which the object was plunder. In 1883 also only three robberies out of eight were committed for the sake of plunder. Robbery of this class is tempting to the bringer of false charges. The postal-runner is robbed or allows himself to be robbed, and the bags are thrust into an enemy's house, to be found again as soon as the robbery has been reported and the police come to search. A similar course is adopted where the object is to bring discredit on the runner himself or on the police, or on the zemindars of the village. The runner himself is occasionally in

collusion with the robbers, or he may bring a false charge upon his own account. One of these men, employed in the Moradabad District in 1884, solaced his weary way by turning aside to visit a frail friend at a neighbouring village; and when her relatives surprised them and set on him and beat him he threw down his bags, ran away and forthwith brought against them the charge of mail robbery. Six of the ten cases reported in this year were shown to be absolutely false. A most elaborate dummy case was manufactured at Mainpuri in 1881. One Sundar Lal held some jewellery of value which belonged to his uncle at Gya. He coveted the jewellery, and, in collusion with the postmaster of Kishni, devised a plan for appropriating it without exciting his uncle's suspicion. He made up a dummy parcel and addressed it to his uncle. Then he arranged to have the mail-bags robbed and parcel disappear. The Bulandshahr District had for some years an especially bad name for the frequent occurrence and the uniform non-detection of mail robbery; but the offence generally seems to have become much less frequent of late years. There were only six cases in 1885 and only three in 1886; and in the latter the mail-bags were in each instance recovered intact. Robberies generally, however, appear to be in no danger of suddenly ceasing. There were 541 in 1884, 471 in 1885, and 558 in 1886, while the average number for years free from famine is only 466. The professional crime is as much the handiwork of criminal tribes as dacoity; while non-professional robbery is the work of the classes who are also responsible for the more serious house-breakings and thefts.

CATTLE THEFT.

Cattle-driving—Levy of Black-mail—Thefts and Strays—Minor Forms of Cattle Theft—Crime, light in certain parts—Cattle Theft in the Meerut, Rohilkhand, and Agra Divisions—Cattle Thieves—Cattle-poisoning.

TO an agricultural population like that of India the number of cattle which every year are "lost, stolen or strayed" becomes a serious consideration. The plough-bullocks are by law sacred even from the money-lender: but they are not safe from the cattle-lifter and the levier of black-mail. These two men represent the two most common forms of cattle theft. If it were as frequent, cattle-lifting would cause far more loss to the cultivator than the levy of black-mail entails. The cattle-lifter drives off the cattle from the village and spirits them rapidly away to the nearest *thangdar* or receiver, who either forwards them on to another *thangdar* or himself disposes of the animals by sale or exchange. The receiver may be, and often is, a well-to-do zemindar or even lumberdar. In the northern districts, where cattle-lifting is most frequent, the lifter is generally a Gujar, a Jat or a Mewati, while the *thangdar* or receiver is usually a Mussalman. Regular receiving pens for herds of stolen cattle formerly existed in the Ganges khadir of the Meerut Division; and even now, in the one district of Bulandshahr, there are more than two hundred villages in which professional receivers are known to live. The service thus rendered is often reciprocal. The cattle-drivers of Saharanpur

oblige those of Meerut and Bulandshahr, and reap their reward when they themselves have stock to dispose of. Mainpuri and Etawah oblige each other in the same way, and the Jats of Aligarh and Muttra drive a brisk trade with their fellow-castemen across the Jumna; and, if it is any satisfaction to the owners on either side the stream, they may reflect that the balance of trade is probably tolerably well preserved.

If there is a Native State near, the cattle can be sold with tolerable security. For a long time there was a good trade between Moradabad, where the Ahars among others are noted cattle-lifters, and the Native State of Rampur, but the gang was broken up in 1883. If there is not a Native State hard by the animals are taken to another district. Cattle-driving in Bulandshahr, for example, is generally the work of men from Aligarh and Delhi, while the other form of theft (for ransom) is perpetrated by men of the district. Saharanpur and Moradabad cattle when recovered are generally found far from home in neighbouring districts; and the cattle of these districts are recovered in Saharanpur. From Muzaffarnagar, again, stolen beeves are driven to Karnal, Meerut, Bijnor, Saharanpur and Umballa: while from Farukhabad they go to Mainpuri, Shahjahanpur, Hardoi and Budaon. Azamgarh is, on the other hand, a noted district for the receipt of stolen cattle, which come in from Gorakhpur, Ballia, Ghazipur, Benares and Fyzabad. Theft in the district itself is not prominently high, but Ahir thieves from Azamgarh work in adjacent districts and bring back their booty to sell. A less profitable mode of disposing of the spoil is to send the animals to the shambles

of some large city. There are always butchers who will buy them and ask no questions; and if the trade is at all brisk the price of beef goes down, while the price of oxen tends to rise. Where theft of this type is most virulent a large number of cattle is stolen from within the village itself, and often in broad daylight. "To open a yard-gate, drive a slowly moving animal through the village and get off unperceived is more or less of a feat. It generally means that the zemindar and the chaukidar are well disposed towards the thief. Sometimes the crime is committed by the village bully, probably a relative of the zemindar, the sufferer being a man of lower caste who has displeased them, or possibly refused to pay for his safety." This is the worst form of cattle theft.

The common form of the crime, however, is theft followed by levy of black-mail and return of the stolen property. The cultivator loses a bullock or two from the grazing ground, or by night from his shed. After a few days, "from information received," he goes to some obliging man, who on receipt of six or seven rupees puts him in the way of getting back his twenty-rupee bullock again. Perhaps he is told that the animal will come back to its stall of its own sweet will after a night or two, or that he will find it at a certain place in the jungle next day at noon, or that it is at that minute in a distant pound awaiting release by its rightful owner. The bargain holds good: it is the custom of the country; and the ploughman gets his bullock again at a tolerably trifling outlay. The thief has committed theft, and the owner has compounded a felony: so that neither dare say a word against the other. This system is known in the northern

districts as *languri* (ransom), which may possibly mean the monkey's portion; in other parts it is generally termed *panhai* (making the milk come), and where no technical term is employed the common word *phiroti* (return) is used.

It is clear that an accurate record of cattle thefts for any year is well-nigh hopeless. In the first place what does the owner himself know? If a bullock has been stolen from its stall at night, and he left the place securely fastened, then he knows it is a case of theft. But if some naked urchin, in bringing the cattle home at night, loses one on the road and leaves it behind; or if while he is sitting under a bush at midday, twisting his toe-rings round, a Nat or a Kanjar comes along and drives off one or two that have separated from the herd; or if, while the boy is asleep or feeding, one or two of the cattle stray away *suo motu*—in any case the loss is not discovered until the owner counts them up at night-fall. He waits till morning, hoping that the animal will return, which is likely or not, according to the season of the year and supply of grass, and the means of the owner in the way of fodder. Then the man has to decide whether he will go to the nearest police station and report his loss or not. His object is to recover his bullock, and to have as little trouble in the process as possible. If the station is some way off and he expects more plague than profit from going there, or if the loss is not very serious and not very likely to be recovered, he naturally does not go. Perhaps as a compromise he will tell the village watchman, and leave him to report it or not as he thinks fit. But if he knows it to be a case of theft, and

especially if he has a shrewd suspicion that the thief is (or ought to be) some old enemy of his, then he wends his way to the station. Or, again, he may do so if he wants strayed cattle reported and cannot trust the chaukidar to report them. If he does go, he is questioned as to what he knows; and in four cases out of five the station clerk enters the loss as a "stray." If it is a clear case of theft or the man insists on reporting it as theft, then it is entered as such. But the entry as a "stray" is safer: it commits nobody and offends nobody. If the bullocks have been taken for the purpose of extorting black-mail, and their loss has been entered as a case of theft and not as a simple stray, the owner will naturally have some difficulty in explaining their subsequent recovery; and, foreseeing this, and the awkward complications which may arise, the thieves in their turn usually think that in such a case the safest course for them is to send the cattle to the shambles. The owner loses his cattle altogether, the thieves lose their black-mail; but then they get paid for the carcase by the butcher, and feel safer in his hands than in those of the indiscreet complainant.

There are also other minor forms of cattle theft. In Banda cattle are often forcibly driven off and detained as payment or security for debt. A similar system of extortion obtains in Jaunpur, chiefly on the Azamgarh border and in connection with the thieves of that district.

For the reasons already given the numbers of cattle thefts reported year by year are considerably below the mark, although the causes which vitiate the returns

operate tolerably equally in those districts where the offence is rifest. There are again natural causes which tend to diminish the crime in certain parts. In the hilly districts there are very few cattle to steal, and in some other districts, like Gonda and Fatehpur, the breed of cattle is so inferior as hardly to repay the professional thief. Districts such as Etawah, where, as soon as the rabi crop is cut, the cattle are allowed to wander about almost unprotected, offer manifest facilities for theft; whereas in those highly cultivated districts which have no large grazing grounds and jungles, and where the cattle are consequently mostly stall-fed, theft becomes more difficult. The four cis-Jumna districts of the Allahabad division, for instance, suffer less than the adjoining districts of Bundelkhand, even though the large cities of Allahabad and Cawnpore offer the attraction of a good and ready market for beef. In all the districts of the Benares division, again, the incidence of the crime is light when compared with the dense population, and the only district in which the actual numbers run high is Gorakhpur, where the wild forest country which borders on the Nepal Terai affords special facilities both for cattle straying and for theft. The Sitapur division of Oudh possesses large pasture grounds under the Terai for grazing and breeding stocks of cattle, while the other divisions of Oudh have very little jungle land. There are only two districts in the whole of Oudh in which the loss from cattle theft is at all considerable, and these two, Kheri and Hardoi, are in the Sitapur division. The losses in Kheri especially are greater than are reported. Many cattle that the herds lose while out on the grazing

tracts are put down to loss by wild beasts, and owners and breeders feel it useless to waste their time in reporting. Numbers of purchasers also pass through the districts with their cattle at certain seasons, and cattle at times accrue to them otherwise than by purchase. The Banjaras, the pack bullock-drivers who in olden days used to form an important feature in the commissariat of an army, are in this district clever and determined cattle-lifters. But, nevertheless, neither in this nor in any other division in Oudh is there any organised system of cattle theft; nor, again, is it prominent in Bundelkhand. A thoughtful Ahir in the Hamirpur district will pick up a promising calf with an eye to its future utility. Nats and Kanjars in Jhansi and Jalaun annex cattle just as they annex any other property which falls in their way. Banjaras in Lalitpur occasionally absorb into their own pack a useful animal or two. These, however, are instances of simple theft.

The organised crime is practically confined to the three northern divisions of the Provinces. Rohilkhand suffers most, but Agra and Meerut press it hard. In each of these three divisions it so happens that there is one district which is but faintly tainted with the offence: these three districts are Dehra Dun, Pilibhit, and Mainpuri. In the other fifteen districts cattle theft is rampant.

The particular district in which most thefts are reported is Bulandshahr, in which 1,570 oxen were stolen in the four years 1883 to 1886. But when the numbers of cattle stolen are compared with the male population of the district, Bulandshahr gives place to Etah, where the

proportionate recorded loss by theft is greater than in any other district in the Provinces. Both in Bulandshahr and Etah, however, the number of "strays" reported is comparatively small; and this in itself suggests that the "loss reported" by theft is much nearer the actual loss in these two districts than in others where the record is apparently more favourable. Where black-mail prevails, indeed, more energy on the part of the police sometimes lessens the number of strays reported, because the owner may then not report the crime at all, except in the last resort to bring the thief to terms. "Thus a bullock is stolen on the 1st January; negotiations go on until the 15th March; the plaintiff then, to show that he is in earnest, makes a complaint of a stray at the station; the animal is at once returned; and the case as shown in the police returns is harmless enough." This, however, cannot frequently happen, as if a report brought the thief at once to terms the owner would make it quickly enough. Generally, where the number of reported strays is very large, there the number of cattle thefts reported is seriously inaccurate. Now in Etah and Bulandshahr there are only about 650 strays every year, whereas in Moradabad and Budaon there are on the average 1,650. Moradabad has lost 1,433 cattle in the four years, and Budaon 1,187; but in proportion to their population Moradabad stands only ninth on the list, while Budaon with the neighbouring district, Shahjahanpur, stands seventh. Still it is probable that Moradabad and Budaon suffer more from actual theft than Bulandshahr and Etah. The first of these three districts, indeed, possesses large grazing tracts, so that the number

of "strays" is naturally high; but, on the other hand, there are well-known runs into the neighbouring Native State of Rampur, and cattle-lifters are soon over the border. The thieves in Budaon are in league with those of Etah, Mainpuri, and Farukhabad beyond the Ganges, and to a smaller extent with those of the neighbouring districts, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur. In Saharanpur, Bareilly, and Muttra again the number of "strays" reported every year exceeds on the average 1,200. Saharanpur is the most northerly district of those which are bounded on the west by the Jumna; cattle are made to swim the river to the Umballa side, and some of the zemindars themselves are in league with the cattle-drivers. A certain Gujar village is mentioned in this district in which the poorest of the villagers—a man who perhaps owns but one plough—has a herd of from two to five score head of cattle. Muttra is perhaps of all others the district which really suffers most from depredations. The proportionate loss as reported, when compared with the male population of the district, is exceeded only by Etah and Bulandshahr, while the loss by theft and so-called strays combined is far in excess of either of those districts. There are the Aligarh thieves on the north, the Gurgaon thieves on the north-west, the thieves of Bhartpur and Dholpur on the west and south-west, and those of Agra on the south. Agra in its turn, with a roll of 1,396 head of cattle reported stolen in four years, has to reckon with the neighbouring States of Dholpur, Bhartpur, and Gwalior; and in 1886 the District Superintendent of the Agra Police had a list of 47 villages across the Jumna, all of them notorious for cattle theft. Coming

further down the river to Etawah the crime lessens; but the remaining more northern districts—Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, and Aligarh—are heavy sufferers. Meerut is a district notorious for the levy of black-mail. Three lumberdars were in 1886 convicted of conniving at the practice, and nearly all cases of theft were in 1885 reported in the first instance as strays. In Aligarh, where four notorious *thaṇgs* or depôts for stolen cattle were discovered in 1886, the case is the same. A brisk trade goes on across the river. Muzaffarnagar has its full quota of noted *thangdars* and cattle-drivers, and cattle-runs abound on all sides. Of the Rohilkhand districts, after Bareilly, Bijnor suffers most. Many of the chaukidars are Mewatis, and for this reason or for some other the Gujars of Morahat and other notorious offenders carry on business on a large scale.

Cattle thieves belong to all castes, those that furnish the largest complements of convicted offenders being the Ahirs, Rajputs, Chamars, Brahmans, Gujars, and Jats. They are named in the order of their numerical strength. Azamgarh is the district most infested by Ahirs, but their numbers are large also in Farukhabad and Mainpuri. Then come Gorakhpur and Ghazipur, two districts adjacent to Azamgarh. In Etawah, Hardoi, Bareilly, and Budaon cattle-thieves of this caste are also numerous. Gujars and Jats confine their attentions to those parts in which professional crime is rifest, being themselves the professional cattle-thieves *par excellence*. Gujar cattle-drivers abound throughout the Meerut, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, and Bulandshahr districts, in which the value of cattle runs high: in Aligarh their place is taken

by the Jats. The Jats again are the great cattle-lifting caste of the Muttra district, and they also do a good deal of driving in Muzaffarnagar and Bulandshahr. Both Jats and Gujars are found among the most successful cattle-thieves of Moradabad. Gujars also appear, although less frequently, in Agra, Muttra, and Bijnor. Turning eastward to the Benares division, the Chamars are, after the Ahirs, the most notorious cattle-thieves; and in the Benares district itself they commit more thefts than any other caste. In Azamgarh and Ghazipur much of the crime is laid at their door; but in Gorakhpur the Brahman and Chhatri thieves are on a par with them. Chamar cattle-thieves are also found in Budaon, Etawah, and Jaunpur; but they, like Brahmans, Chhatris, and Ahirs, occur more or less in every district. Both Brahman and Rajput cattle-thieves, however, are more numerous in Agra (and after Agra, in Hardoi) than in any other district. Both castes are found in large numbers in Shahjahanpur; while Brahman thieves are also plentiful in Etawah and Rajputs in Etah and Saharanpur. The number of Mussalman thieves is relatively small: Mewatis are occasionally troublesome in Moradabad and Bareilly, but Mussalmans connected with this form of crime are oftener receivers of stolen property than active drivers or lifters.

The foregoing sketch will have shown that professional cattle-lifting and the black-mail system are for the most part confined to fifteen districts in the northern part of the Provinces; but there is an allied form of offence, though far more atrocious in its nature, which has its home in the easternmost division: this is the crime of

cattle-poisoning. Poisoned meat is no man's food. The crime is committed solely for the value of the hide. It is not absolutely unknown in other parts of the Provinces. Bijnor was troubled in 1877, and in the following year cases of poisoning were discovered in Unao and Fatehpur; but the home of the cattle-poisoner is Azamgarh and Jaunpur. Upwards of a maund of arsenic was on one occasion found in a man's hut in a village in the latter district. Cattle-poisoning is one of those rare forms of crime which tends to diminish rather than increase in a famine year, when cattle, whether stall-fed or jungle-fed, die in numbers from lack of fodder. Hides become plentiful, and the Chamars profit thereby. So, too, do castes like the Doms and Koris, who have no objection to eat dead meat.

Cattle-poisoners are practically confined to the Chamar caste. The hide and carcase is the Chamar's perquisite, subject to a certain deduction in favour of the zemindar. In return the Chamar does the ordinary leather-work and supplies the material required by the cattle-owner; and all the hides that are in excess of such domestic requirements he sells to the merchant. The zemindars in Kheri get one-third of the hides and lease their share to contractors. The contractors and Chamars therefore are the men who profit by a large mortality; and some Chamars are really the servants of these hide merchants, who furnish them with arsenic and pay them wages. If arsenic cannot be mixed with the food, a small wooden pin is driven into the brain or a poisoned thorn is inserted in the ear. Dhatura spikes, an inch and a half long, are also used, being driven with a smart blow

into the loin where the skin is taut. The top of the spike breaks off, in a few hours swelling appears, and after four or five days, or sometimes longer, the animal dies. The spikes are made of equal parts of dhatura, opium, gunchi seeds and onion; the ingredients are mixed into a paste with native liquor, shapened into spikes and baked in the sun.

The crime of cattle-poisoning happily is held in universal and intense reprobation; and although it continually reappears, and there is always "danger of its recrudescence," it has never of late years been either widespread or organised. Cattle theft on the other hand, in its own favoured districts, we have with us always.

HOUSE-BREAKING AND THEFT.

Large amount of House-breaking explained—Influence of Famine on both Crimes—Thefts from Railway Trains—Theft from Akbar's Tomb—Local Distribution of both Crimes—Annual loss of Property per Family.

IT will probably seem out of place to include house-breaking and theft among "graver" crime. They are matters of every-day occurrence, and provide the staple work of the station-house policeman and the village chaukidar. What they lack in quality, however, they make up in quantity. Five hundred thousand cases of house-breaking and seven hundred thousand cases of ordinary theft occurred in the eleven years 1876 to 1886. To English ears this amount of house-breaking would seem enormous. The fact that two house-breakings occur to every three ordinary thefts would be no less incredible than the fact that in one district out of every four house-breaking is actually more frequent than theft. But the offence in an Indian village is one of quite a different hue from that perpetrated by "Sykes, house-breaker of Houndsditch." In the first place, lurking house-trespass is punished under the same section of the Code, and is in all returns included with actual house-breaking, so that in a large minority of the cases of "house-breaking" there is no fracture of any kind nor any attempt thereat. The man is found where he has no business to be, and has done something which proves his

evil intention. In an ordinary village actual house-breaking itself is an offence of many degrees. Even a child could push its hand through the walls of some of the little thatch-made huts and could so commit house-breaking. Going up a step in the scale of difficulty, there is the mat or trellis-work which is placed at night before the door and very insecurely tied; or there may be a regular door fastened by a padlock with the hasps loose, or supposed to be fastened securely on the inside, but coming open with a smart shove. No professional skill is wanted in any of these cases, nor indeed for twisting off or picking the ordinary village lock. If the outer door is impracticable except with a little trouble, it may be easy to scale the compound wall, when all the doors of the rooms opening on the central yard will, as likely as not, be found open. The roof generally gives easy access. Tiles are easily taken up or a hole is soon made in the thatch; and if there are monkeys about, a little rice sprinkled on the roof the day before will induce them to do the work in readiness. It is not until all these resources fail and recourse is had to the "hole in the wall" that there is any room for professional handiwork. Then, indeed, there are signs, such as the direction of the hole, its slope outwards or inwards, the presence of leaves or other objects which tell their tale, and which enable him who understands to hit upon a clue, or to choose the most likely of two or three which have presented themselves. But such house-breaking by professionals forms a small proportion of the five hundred thousand recorded cases. The case is the same with ordinary theft. The great majority of the crime is of a mild character and is committed by the

ordinary criminal classes of the community, and not by men belonging to criminal tribes with hereditary training and aptitude for the work.

The number of cases of lurking house-trespass and house-breaking varies considerably from year to year. The annual average in the North-West Provinces is 25,181; in Oudh it is 19,911, or about one to every thousand of the population. In the two famine years the numbers increased; and they increased far more in Oudh than in the larger Provinces, for there were 36,634 cases in 1877 and 36,774 in 1878. After that for five years the number of offences remained constantly low; but in 1884 to 1886 house-breaking, especially in the North-West Provinces, increased considerably. Possibly the actual increase was slight, or it would have been accompanied by an increase in Oudh; and the augmentation in numbers may be mainly due to endeavours to ensure that every crime committed is actually reported.

In theft the case is the same. There is a tremendous increase in times of distress. The annual average for the period of eleven years (1876 to 1886) is one theft to every seven hundred persons. In the North-West Provinces there are on the average 39,164 thefts per annum; but in 1877 the number rose to 45,423, and in 1878 it rose still further to 65,314. In Oudh the average output is 23,464; but in the famine years the numbers rose to 28,045 in 1877, and then to 42,006 in the year following. One of the first symptoms of famine is that the agricultural labouring classes begin to leave their homes and to wander in search of some more favoured land. The district of Jhansi, for example, was in August and Sep-

tember 1877 flooded by an enormous influx of starving wretches making their way from Agra and Etawah to the fancied prosperity of Native States, undeterred by the fact that an equal crowd, led by an equally vain hope, was making its way from Gwalior into British territory. Forty-three thousand passed the traffic post on the Lalitpur road in one day in August, and more than half a million went through the district on their way to Malwa in those two months, returning again in October. With swarms of starving travellers refusing to remain and accept relief in any one place, and ever tempted into crime by the pangs of hunger, it is little wonder that petty theft of all kinds should inordinately multiply.

A certain amount of theft goes on from and in railway trains. When trains go slow (and they sometimes go very slowly indeed) a train-thief will jump on a goods-train, open the wagon-doors, throw out the bags and bales and then jump off again. In 1878 there were thirty-six such cases, and seven of them occurred within one month between Moghal Serai and Buxar. Similar thefts occurred between Agra and Cawnpore and others between Allahabad and Sutna. The simple candour of the ordinary native traveller also offers an irresistible temptation to the professional pickpocket who haunts the third-class carriage. A boy of 14, returning from the Sonepur Fair in 1878, displayed a bag containing Rs. 1,100 in cash and Rs. 400 in notes as a proof of his business capacity. He fell asleep and awoke at Moghal Serai, but his bag was gone. A Delhi jeweller, coming back from the same fair, lost a bag containing Rs. 4,000 of jewels in similar fashion while asleep;

and in 1881 two thieves were caught in railway carriages, one of whom had stolen Rs. 1,200 and the other (a Sonoria) Rs. 1,000 from sleeping travellers. The total number of railway thefts in eleven years has been 5,401, and its frequency may be estimated by the fact that this number is more than the number which has occurred in at least five different districts in the North-West Provinces during the same time.

Sometimes a bold and striking theft occurs, as in 1879, when the cloth-of-gold pall which Lord Northbrook had presented to Akbar's tomb at Sikandra was stolen by night; but generally there is a monotonous similarity both in the subject and manner of the offence. There are naturally many trifling thefts from the fields; and in 1883, out of the total number of thefts under Rs. 10, nearly one-quarter were of this description.

Taking one year with another, house-breaking and theft are far more common in Oudh than in the North-West proper. The causes are probably that there is a larger substratum of the very poor, and that in the larger province many trivial cases occur which no one troubles himself to report. Throughout the united provinces the proportion of house-breakings to a lakh of the male population is 197 per annum. In the North-West proper the proportion rises in Bareilly and Pilibhit (taking the two districts together) to 253 and in Etah to 272. The worst district in the Meerut division is Aligarh (206 per lakh); in the Allahabad division, Jaunpur (192 per lakh); in the Benares division, Benares itself (189 per lakh); and in the Jhansi division, Jhansi (220 per lakh). On the other hand in many districts the crime

is very light. This is the case in Dehra Dun and throughout the hilly districts of Kumaon. Meerut (106), Moradabad (129), Cawnpore (99), Gorakhpur (100), and Lalitpur (94) are the districts which, in the divisions to which they belong, escape most easily. In Oudh, on the other hand, the lightest district is Gonda with 196 cases per annum to one hundred thousand male inhabitants; while the proportion ranges upwards until in Sitapur it reaches 404, in Sultanpur 441, and in Rae Bareli 453 per lakh per annum.

Similarly the proportionate number of thefts is 297 per annum throughout the Provinces. In Sitapur (808) and Jhansi (742) thefts are more common than elsewhere. Partabgarh (488), Lucknow (451) and Kheri (431) are also prominent in this form of crime; and Bara Banki (249) is the only district of Oudh in which the offences reported fall below the normal average. The Jhansi division is bad throughout; but in the Kumaon, Meerut and Agra divisions ordinary theft is light in numbers. Shahjahanpur (430) is, after Jhansi, the worst district in the North-West; while Banda (387) and Hamirpur (386) help the Jhansi division generally to keep up the credit of Bundelkhand; and Benares (397) and Ghazipur (346) take the lead in theft, as well as in house-breaking, in the eastern division of the province. Jaunpur is a peculiar district in having had 12,955 house-breakings to only 8,201 thefts in the eleven years.

The frequent petty house-breakings and thefts in Oudh must undoubtedly be very annoying to those who are subject to them, but fortunately the loss which they entail is not very great; and in Oudh generally, notwith-

standing the larger number of offences, the value of stolen property lost is less than that in the North-West Provinces. The total loss (excluding recoveries) for the two provinces from dacoities, robberies and thefts of every kind during eleven years is Rs. 1,62,08,467. In other words, the annual loss to every thousand families is Rs. 155-11. In seven out of the twelve districts of Oudh, however, the loss falls below this; in four of them it is less than two-thirds of the amount; in Partabgarh it is only Rs. 96-10; and in Sultanpur it is even lower, being Rs. 89-8. In three other districts the loss only slightly exceeds the average; so that there are only two districts in that province in which the value of property stolen is really high. These are Lucknow, where the annual average per thousand families is Rs. 558-14, and Sitapur, where it is Rs. 251-5. Turning to the sister province the loss is, of course, low in the hilly districts of Kumaon; while in Dehra Dun on the other hand it is high, being Rs. 272-2. The families in Fatehpur, Jaunpur, Basti, Azamgarh and Gorakhpur all pay a smaller yearly tribute than even those in Sultanpur, the amount in Gorakhpur falling short of Rs. 61. Mirzapur is tolerably on a level with Partabgarh, but all the other districts of the larger province show a larger annual loss: fourteen of them, indeed, exceed the average. The loss in stolen property is heavy throughout the Meerut division; in Meerut itself it rises to Rs. 217-1, while Muzaffarnagar gets off most lightly with Rs. 147-5 per thousand families. In Rohilkhand the loss varies between Rs. 119-5 in Budaon and Rs. 169-12 in Bijnor. In the Agra division Agra itself is the district which suffers more than any other in

the provinces. The value of stolen property which every thousand families lose annually is in Agra Rs. 330-15, while in Farukhabad it is only Rs. 134-12. Throughout the Allahabad division the loss is light, varying from Rs. 73-3 in Jaunpur to Rs. 198-2 in Cawnpore, the loss in the Allahabad district itself being Rs. 158-5; so also does the remaining division of Benares as a whole get off lightly, although in Benares itself the loss is very high, being Rs. 272-12 per thousand families.

The results vary greatly, but it must be acknowledged that they are not very distressing. Lucknow suffers most, a district in which (excluding recoveries) every family loses on the average nine annas per annum. Among the plain districts Gorakhpur stands lowest, the loss to every family there being only one anna per annum. Throughout the provinces generally the annual loss of every family in stolen property from dacoity, robbery and theft is $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas—or, in English money, twopence half-penny a year.

CRIME AND CRIMINALS NOW AND FORTY YEARS AGO.

Oudh Forty Years ago—Badhak Dacoits and their Dacoities: Preparations, Disguises and Attacks—Badhaks, Bagris, and Takankars of To-day—Bauris, Moghyas and Pardhis: their Method—Haburas—Sansyas and Kanjars—Beriyas or Kolhatis—Nats—Gambling Thugs—Aheriyas or Baheliyas—Sonoria Brahmans—Pasis.

IT would be a fitting close to the foregoing review of eleven years' graver crime in these provinces to compare the present time with a similar cycle forty years ago. To do this, however, it would be necessary to include Oudh; and a comparison between Oudh of the present day and that province when seven full years of its independent life were still to run is happily impossible. It would be like comparing the hot weltering tempest following the gaseous period with the petty storms and occasional hurricanes of a habitable world. Graver crimes of violence were not abnormal but customary. Thuggee, indeed, had been stamped out; and suttee, to which the Rajputs of Oudh never took kindly, had also been abolished. Female infanticide was rife among them. The Dhakares and some of the Bisens were the only Rajput castes of any position which held aloof, although the Musalman section of the Ahabans kept their Hindu fellow-castemen straight. But among all other Rajputs of any respectability and means nineteen

female infants out of twenty were sacrificed. Generally the girl-baby was killed, being half-poisoned and half-suffocated before being buried; but very often the little thing was buried alive. But it was not with exceptional classes of crime, but by the ordinary crimes of violence that Oudh was overrun. No man's life, no woman's honour, was safe. The manifold details of murder, and of torture that ended in death, are sickening in their foul brutality, until they begin to pall from constant iteration. The hands of men like Raghubhar Singh, Bhure Khan, Mahipat and a score others were never idle; their places were never long empty, and the inhuman work never slackened. The men whose business it was to report such matters received a monthly pay of five rupees! They spent Rs. 300 a month on bribes in order to retain their places; and it paid them to do it. The Court at Lucknow, therefore, heard little and, except when moved by bribes or loss of revenue, cared not at all. There was no redress. It would not have paid. The stronger man could always rob more, pay more, and promise more. To the events which in those pre-annexation days were of monthly, almost weekly, recurrence there is not a single parallel in the eleven years—1876 to 1886; and of the graver crime that has formed the subject of the foregoing papers it may safely be said that there is not a single offence which, from the Oudh Government then, would have claimed even passing notice. Comparison is, therefore, impossible between Oudh in the pre-annexation days, when a man who could not build a fort dared set up nothing more than four mud walls with a light thatch to them, when no Kachhi, Kurmi, Lodhi, or other careful

cultivator would take a holding upon any terms, and when even the Ahir and Chamar tenants were always ready for a run to the jungles, and Oudh now-a-days, when the average loss to a family is something less than twopence halfpenny per annum. The two pictures are so utterly and radically different that, although they may be contrasted, they cannot be compared.

But while a statistical comparison of crime is impossible, an interesting contrast may be drawn between the state of the criminal tribes forty or fifty years ago and their present condition and power. Fifty years ago the most troublesome dacoits in these Provinces were the Badhaks of Oudh. They lived, most of them, in the Terai forest to the north of Gonda and Bahraich; but there were scattered colonies also in Shahjahanpur and Budaon. The Bagris, who dwelt in Gwalior and adjacent States across the Jumna and the Chambal, claimed them as their kindred. While at home, they lived like an old Teutonic commune, every man being as good as his neighbour: but when on the war-path each band obeyed its chief, and the different chiefs acted in obedience to the leader of the expedition. They were known in this form to their more peaceful neighbours, and the Badhak leader was respected accordingly, and invited to assist at the marriage and other ceremonies of the great territorial chiefs and of the *amils* who represented the sovereign over the countries in which they were located. Mangal Singh, for example, was present at the marriage of Raja Arjun Singh of Dhorehra. Gajraj Singh held his head equally high beyond the Chambal, and hobnobbed with the Raja of Narwar, one of the proudest Rajput chiefs

in India, who boasted of having in his veins the blood of a long line of kings, and of never having condescended to bow his head to the great Maharaja of the Gwalior State.

Each Badhak colony, while unmolested by the local authority, respected its own district. They flew only at big game. The average amount of plunder in 118 dacoities (up to 1833) was close on Rs. 10,000 every time; and this average was tolerably well maintained up to 1844. Some hauls were very heavy. A dacoity in Fatehpur in 1818 brought in Rs. 70,000; another in Benares two years later yielded over Rs. 52,000. Government treasure on its way to Nepal, to the value of Rs. 64,000, fell into the Badhaks' net in 1823; and nine years later another remittance of treasure (Rs. 70,000) on its way from Calcutta to Benares shared the same fate. Two bankers of Farukhabad in 1839 lost Rs. 60,000 to the Badhaks, and the plunder of the ex-Peshwa's camp at Bithor on the 24th January 1833 brought in no less than Rs. 2,53,646. In comparing the former average takings—Rs. 10,000—in a dacoity with the present average takings by a gang of armed outlaws—Rs. 1,415—it must be remembered that the former figures are supplied by the dacoits themselves, who would probably rather underestimate their gains; while the latter are taken from the statements made by the plundered parties, who invariably exaggerate their own losses. It is safe to infer that in one of the old dacoities the plunder was seven or eight times that which is taken now-a-days.

The Badhaks kept spies who brought in *khabar*. The Birjbasis of Muttra, a division of the Nats, also helped

them in this way. When favourable tidings were received the bands assembled. The proportionate amount of the whole spoil which each chief was to receive on behalf of his band, and the proportion which each member was to receive from his chief, were settled before starting. Then there was a feast, a sacrifice of goats, and the invocation of some daring robber of a bygone day, followed by a call for omens. "My grandfather," said Ajit Singh, "was the greatest of all my ancestors as a robber. He never failed me when I invoked him, and I had the greatest confidence in his aid. The spirits of our ancestors can easily see whether we shall succeed, and they order us on, or make signs to us to desist." The triple cry of the female jackal on the left hand was the sign of the favour of Kali, and on hearing it the gang were ready to depart with light hearts.

The disguises, however, had to be settled. Sometimes they set out as hawkers with hawks and falcons, or as simple bird-fanciers with parrots and mynas and other talking birds. At times they would stroll into a town at nightfall simply with sticks in their hands, and if challenged by a sentry they would answer that they were Ahirs (herdsmen) and that there were others of them coming on behind with the cows. If anyone, however, had examined their sticks, he would have found the shorter ones shaped to take axe-blades, and the longer similarly fitted for spear-heads. Sometimes the chief would travel as a Raja and take his wife with him. The old Badhak leader, Mahrban, made a pilgrimage two years, following in princely state, taking his wife Sujania in a splendid litter, and going as far as Serampur on the

Bengal Bay. He visited the holy shrines, planted and endowed groves for travellers, brought home 40,000 Spanish dollars after the first year's campaign, and was hung after the second. But the usual disguise of the Badhak, if travelling by the highroad, was that of the Ganges water-carrier or of the Vishnuite Bairagi. He would impress five or six real Bairagis into the gang to answer troublesome questions, together with a few Brahmans to cope with the Custom-house officials. The water-baskets or the beggars' wallets formed a convenient receptacle for any tools of the trade which were safer unseen. If bound across country, the Badhak usually transformed himself into a Banjara, who was, indeed, scarcely less a criminal at heart than the Badhak himself. The Banjara with his pack-bullocks chose the bye-ways rather than the high-ways; for in so doing he availed himself of shorter cuts, better pasturage for his cattle, more fuel for his cooking, and the chance of kidnapping a few children or girls for the benefit of the nearest cantonment. The Badhak, therefore, when on a cross-country tour, became for the nonce a driver of pack-bullocks.

The Badhaks usually began their attack as soon as the night fell; and they travelled all through the night with their booty and all through the next day before they ventured to rest and examine the spoil. There was no weakly man among their working gang, nor any under eighteen years of age. They claimed to have been Rajputs originally and believed that their ancestors left Chitor after it was taken by Akbar in 1567; and they still preserved seven Rajput sub-divisions—the Chauhan,

Rathor, Ponwar, Solanki, Gablot, Charan, and Dhadel. They were ready, however, to affiliate any decent Hindu, but barred Musalmans and Koris, Chamars and other low-caste Hindus. They ate meat and game, but abstained from beef; they were deep drinkers; they married plentifully and kept concubines. They spoke the same language as the Bauris—that now used by the Pardhis and Takankars of the Deccan, a bastard Gujrati.

Badhaks or Bagris are still found in these Provinces and in the Punjab, but whether they are an offshoot of, or akin to, the large fishing and boating caste of Bagris found in Eastern Bengal is not clear. Across the Jumna they occur throughout the Native States of Central India and Rajputana, and again in the petty Commissionership of Ajmere. "Where is the Badhak of to-day?" inquires the policeman of these Provinces, "for his disguises are manifold and the Census Report knows him not." The Deccan may give a clue. There the Bagri has settled down as a peaceful mender of village hand-mills, and is known from his occupation as the Takari or Takankar. His trade takes him into court-yards, and the patient chakki-mender of the daytime takes notes which are useful in the night season. Evolution has dealt sorely with him, and he is a poor creature compared with his forebears. "Ours has been a *bádsháhi kam*"—an imperial trade—said one of them to General Sleeman; "we have attacked and seized boldly the thousands and hundreds of thousands that we have freely and nobly spent. We have been all our lives wallowing in wealth and basking in freedom, and find it hard to manage with the few copper pice a day we get from you." But the chakki-mender has

had perforce to abandon his royal calling of dacoity for the humbler occupation of house-breaking (*gharphori*); instead of honourable service with a Raja of Kotar, he is reduced to an occasional post as village watchman. His hand is hard with honest work,* and, unlike his ancestors, he could probably stand the ordeal by fire, and with the simple protection of some pipal-leaves could carry for a few paces a red-hot ball without its leaving a permanent scar. Still the old spirit is not stamped out. The mender of mill-stones as he handles his convenient tools decides on the easiest spot to breach the merchant's wall: and his

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* Perhaps this indicates the origin of the ordeal which is peculiar to charges of theft. The hands of the professional burglar and thief are soft and supple, not hardened and knotty like the hands of the labourer. The ordeal has almost died out now, but it was recently witnessed by Major. Martelli, who thus describes it :—

"Last month, at the particular request of the Jáora and Náráinghar Moghiahs, I witnessed a 'dhij' or the 'ordeal by fire'. A Moghiah Chowkidar of the village of Kunyetti, in Náráinghar, was accused, with his son and son-in-law, by the Náráinghar authorities of three or four thefts. He pleaded innocence and, to prove it, consented to undergo 'dhij.' The Moghiah punchayet of the two districts assembled to prove the test. A blacksmith was called and a piece of iron weighing about six pounds was given to him to make red-hot. While it was heated, Bhopa, the accused, engaged himself in prayer. The excitement amongst the Moghiahs was intense; every one spoke at the top of his voice, and the noise was deafening. When the iron was ready, Bhopa held his hands together, palms upwards, five leaves from the pipal-tree were placed on them, and tied down with thread. If he could walk five paces, at a slow pace (the distance being measured), with the iron in his hand, without being burnt, his innocence would be established. The iron was taken red-hot from the furnace and placed in his hand, and he started off. But after going a couple of paces he threw it down, and was at once proclaimed guilty by all. He, however, still held out that he, himself, was innocent; but, as he had not been able to stand the test, either his son or son-in-law must be guilty, and he was, therefore, willing to take the responsibility. It is quite impossible for any one to keep the iron in his hand for a second without being burnt; and yet these people thoroughly believe that if one of their tribe consents to undergo the ordeal and is innocent, he can walk with the iron with impunity, and nothing can shake their faith in this."—*Journal Anthropological Society, Bombay*, vol. i., p. 285.

frequent and superior work as a house-breaker shows that in him there is of the old spirit something that doth live, and that Nature yet remembers quite enough to puzzle the policeman withal.

Forty years ago the Bauris, a tribe of desperate dacoits, as daring and skilful as the Badhaks, infested the Meerut division. By the Gujars they were often called Gidiyas. They claimed that they were the western, and that the Bagris or Badhaks were the eastern, branch of the great Bauri tribe. Whether akin or not, the two tribes are undoubtedly identical in language, customs and tribal sub-divisions; in their regard for omens; in their permitting a younger brother to take his elder brother's widow to wife, and also in the extent to which they permit affiliation from outside. Like the Bagris, and like the Sansyas, they regard the oath by the pipal-tree as the most solemn of all imprecations, the breach of which brings death or grievous loss as its certain penalty. Hailing from the Aravalli hills, they came eastward to the Delhi division after the fall of Chitor; and about a hundred years ago a considerable number crossed the Jumna and settled in the Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar districts. The Bauris, like the Bagris, pretend to a Rajput origin, but they are probably alike aboriginal. It is quite possible that left-handed marriages may not infrequently have been contracted between Rajputs and the daughters of these tribes; and this is the more likely, as the women of both tribes, like the Habura and Banjara women, have a certain repute for chastity. Rajputs pay for their wives if they come from a caste higher than their own; but if the brides belong to a lower Rajput caste the bride-

groom gets paid; and the lower and poorer castes of Rajputs are known to be at times conveniently blind, and to admit foreign blood without asking troublesome questions. Thus far, therefore, the claim of the Bauris and Bagris may be made good; but no member of the thirty-six Royal tribes would acknowledge one of them, any more than he would acknowledge a Bundela, as a fellow-Rajput Bauris still abound in Rajputana; through Central India they are known as Moghyas; and in the Deccan as Pardhis. They are famed as trackers both of criminals and of wounded animals.

The Bauris, like the Bagris, respected the districts in which they lived. With the advent of the cold weather they sallied forth, making the whole of Upper India from Gujarat to Calcutta their hunting-ground. Their speciality was the robbery of tents and carts, and a frequent scene of their exploits was the Grand Trunk Road. "They assume," said Sleeman, "all manner of disguises," generally those of Bairagis and Gosawis, "and are perhaps the most expert robbers of camps and cutters into tents to be found in the world." They robbed the camp of the Governor-General when the first expedition to Cabul was a-preparing; but their preference lay with the camps of native chiefs as containing more portable property of value. They would also, on behalf of a patron, commit an occasional murder; cutting their way at a Raja's bidding into his enemy's tent, and bringing back the man's head or the gold tassels of his bed, as might be required of them and, as they themselves boasted, without his knowing anything about it in either case. In Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpur they prospered under the protec-

tion of the zamindars in whose villages they lived and who acted as their *thangdars* or receivers of stolen property; and in return they paid these zamindars a high interest on all advances and gave them a share of their plunder. Achpal Singh, the zamindar of Bural, is said to have been the first to make a handsome profit out of sheltered Bauris. In the cold season of 1854, 369 men in one district were absent from their villages on plundering expeditions, the tribe having reappeared although it had been rooted out seventeen or eighteen years previously. "These Bauris, however," wrote the Magistrate of Cawnpore, "were small men in comparison with their fore-fathers. Their sole occupation is ordinary thieving, pilfering in fact, in which there is no chance of killing nor any necessity for using violence; at the same time they will commit highway robbery, and do so when the opportunity is tempting and the spoiling easy." In 1863 an attempt was made to bring them into a colony and to civilise and supervise them. The task proved very wearying and not very successful. Their numbers in 1881 were only 761; and they were scattered through Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Shahjahanpur, Hamirpur and Bareilly. Many are now employed as watchmen.

The Haburas are poor relations of the Bauris. After leaving the main stock they settled first in Malwa; crossing the Jumna they pitched their pals in the Aligarh district and spread into Cawnpore, Agra, Muttra and Meerut. They soon became known as notorious burglars and highway robbers, especially on the borders of Muttra and Bulandshahr. They had three divisions—the Bhatti, Ponwar and Solanki, which intermarried; they wor-

shipped one god, Thakurji; had no reverence for cows or Brahmans; ate anything except snakes and fish, and would eat as willingly after a Bhangi or a Julaha as after a Brahman or a Sayad. If a crime was traced home to them, their chief selected two or three who were given up, and who confessed their guilt and saved their brethren. They were harried from spot to spot by the police. At times they obtained a respite, halting in some thick jungle or barren waste by the river bank; and (with the connivance of the zamindars) robbed at their ease the country round. Now and again they would find it necessary with their short chisel-pointed spears and rusty swords to murder an enemy from whom they could not otherwise escape. At present they number over 2,000, and although the main body live in the Aligarh district, they are found in smaller number in eight other districts of the North-West and also in Gonda (Oudh). They are as active as ever.

Bagris, Bauris and Habûras are the most important of the criminal tribes whose original home is in Rajputana. The next batch come from the Highlands of Central India. The first Sansya dacoity recorded in these Provinces occurred at Banda on the night of the 7th February 1842, and the next occurred, four nights later, at Jalaon. Others followed; and it was soon recognised that the Sansyas must be reckoned with as professional robbers and dacoits. The Sansyas and Kanjars, two branches originally identical but now distinct, had long dwelt among the Satpura and Vindhya Hills, along the upper reaches of the Nerbudda and the Tapti rivers, and further south in the hilly country of

Chhattisgarh. Some of them still worship Shekh Farid, whose shrine is near Hinganghat in the Wardha district of the Central Provinces; and when about to strike the first actual blow in a dacoity, the Sansya leader habitually called on Khandoba or Khande Rao, a deified hero of the Poona district in the Bombay Presidency. Their own legends, however, show that originally they too came from the north, and they point to Pisangan in the Ajmere district as the *fons et origo* of the race. They never made any pretensions to Rajput blood, having formerly been beggars who were appointed as Bhats to some of the Jat tribe; and as Bhats they still occasionally pass themselves off. The legend runs that there were two brothers—Sainsmal and Mallanur. From the former are descended the Sansyas or Kanjars; from the latter come both the Beriyas or Kolhatis and the Doms or Mangs. The admitted relationship to the Doms or Mangs may be taken to show that this great branch of vagrant criminal tribes is, like the Bagris and Bauris, aboriginal in origin. The Sansyas are divided into the Kalkas of pure Sansya descent, and the Mallas, descended from Sansya mothers by fathers of other castes. Descendants of the two families intermarry. They also admit outsiders, provided they are not Dhers or Doms (*i.e.*, Mahars or Mangs). Sansya women, like Kanjarnis, used formerly to dance and sing, but now they look down upon their frailer sisters of the Kanjar and Kolhati castes, who indeed are prostitutes from their youth up. Unlike the Bagris and Bauris, these castes adopted no disguises. The Sansyas generally had a few goats and ponies in which they

pretended to traffic; but their ponies were really much too useful to be sold.

When the time came for their cold weather tour the old people and children under fifteen were left at home; but the women accompanied the gang. In arranging a dacoity each gang worked under its jemadar, who purchased the bamboos for spear-shafts, had them hidden in a nullah near the village where they were wanted, made advances for oil, and paid for information. The usual plan was to ascertain the name of the chief money-changer in the place, and to call at his shop early in the morning before he had had time to bring out the cash for his day's dealings from his strong box. The spy made mental notes of the position of his chest and of any other valuables that were handy. When the gang was ready to start, a little liquor was spilt on the ground to propitiate Devi. If anyone sneezed, or any other very bad omen was observed, the start was postponed; otherwise a man was sent on ahead to buy oil in the village itself. If they heard a jackal, or the bray of the village donkey, their hearts were cheered; but a funeral or a snake turned them back. They were also very superstitious about their oil. The vessel was not allowed to touch the ground until the oil had been poured upon the torch, and then it was dashed on the earth; and from that moment until the job was finished no water touched their lips. The spear-shafts, if necessary, were smuggled into the village in a bundle of millet-stalks. The Sansyas or Kanjars used to time their attacks for the dusk of the evening; the Beriyas or Kolhatis preferred waiting till after dark. Some remained outside on guard; others

broke open the strong box and threw together the valuables. The party made off out of the town to where their ponies and women were waiting, and there mounted and rode off. On dividing the spoil, one-tenth was in the first place given to the jemadar, who also reimbursed himself for his expenses out of the remainder, taking double his actual outlay. The rest was divided: two shares were alloted to the jemadar, one share to each dacoit, and a half-share for each widow left at home. If any man was suspected of cheating he was required to take the usual ordeal by fire or by water, or to take the dread Sansya oath. This consisted in touching with his right hand a strip of new cotton cloth two feet long, hung from the branch of a pipal tree and containing a quarter of a seer of gur; this was more efficacious in their eyes than an oath on Ganges water.

The fact that Kanjars and Beriyas are often acrobats leads to their being sometimes wrongly identified with the Nats, another criminal vagrant class who profess to get their living as conjurors and professional tumblers. Sansyas and Kanjars are always chary of disclosing their caste, whereas Nats have no scruple. This accounts for the latter numbering apparently 36,810, and being found in every district except Garhwal; while Kanjars (including apparently Sansyas) number only 19,524. They are all alike tolerably active both as dacoits, robbers and burglars.

The gambling Thugs of 1848 were a connecting link between the regular Thugs and the poisoners and gambling robbers of the present day. They came from Cawnpore and worked in gangs of a dozen or fifteen—Bauris,

Kalwars, Ahirs and others. They took up their station in a serai or on the Grand Trunk Road, previously bribing the nearest thanadar, and induced travellers to play with them. Some they murdered by violence, others they poisoned, and some they simply robbed. A long string of murders was proved against them.

The Aheriyas or Baheliyas who, like the Arakhs, are fowlers, have long been noted in Aligarh for burglary and theft. They are a branch of the Dhanuks. Forty years ago, however, they were not especially noticed; they were not sufficiently important as compared with the Badhaks and the Bauris.

The Railway Police returns show that Sonorias still exist, and that they have turned their attention to the confiding third-class travellers. The Sonoria Brahmans come from the petty Native States that border Bundlekhand. They leave their homes when the rains cease, and make for large cities, fairs and crowded bathing ghats. In 1855 they were known to frequent the Grand Trunk Road from Cawnpore downwards. As pickpockets they are wonderfully expert, and they train up their children to follow in their footsteps. A Sonoria boy of ten or twelve years with his pretty innocent face and his clean silk clothes is a most attractive little object of villainy. His hand slides into a pocket and he hands over the contents to a man behind him, who in his turn makes them over to a third, and returns to watch over the urchin. If caught, the boy cries and protests his innocence, but his volubility is against him; for no honest native child can talk like a Sonoria boy. The Sonorias always steal by day and never use violence; but simply "by their smart-

ness manage to abstract property;" wherefore, said the Raja of Banpur in his *kharita*, dated the 22nd November 1850:—"I looked upon their proceedings as petty thefts and have not interfered with them." So also said the Rani of Tikamgarh, both being apparently much surprised that the British Government objected to their subjects "proceeding to distant districts to follow their occupation, stealing by day for a livelihood for themselves and families, both cash and any other property that they could lay hands on."

The only other caste which merits mention is that of the Pasis, who forty years ago were either the armed retainers of any refractory talukdar or zemindar, or else free and independent thieves and robbers throughout the kingdom of Oudh. They were armed with bows, and were said to be able to send an arrow through a man at a hundred yards' distance. When hired, they were paid from the plunder they took. In all manner of theft and robbery they were skilful, and enjoyed fishing in the troubled waters of Oudh. Large gangs were always to be procured at a day's notice. When the crops ripened they were employed to defend them against outsiders; and fights often ensued between the Pasis of neighbouring villages when stolen cattle or grain were traced and return was refused. When thus employed they were staunch and faithful watchmen, though their pay was only two-and-a-half seers of grain from every bigha of land guarded. The state of the country, however, made them a terror to the cultivators. At present the Pasis of Oudh and the Khangars of Bundelkhand, although there is a trace of the old Adam strong in them still, have for the

most part settled down as village watchmen into guardians of the peace, which it was once their pride to break. The process has been the same with them as with the Kolis and Ramusis of the Deccan, and the Kallans and Marawars of the extreme south. The criminal classes in these Provinces still exist, but they exist under difficulties, and are becoming every year more and more open to the conviction that an honest livelihood is both easier and more profitable than their former Ishmaelitish existence.

APPENDIX I.—Showing Crime in each District.

Division.	District.	Murders (1876 to 1886).	Dacoities (1876 to 1886).	Robberies (1876 to 1886).	Head of cattle stolen (1883 to 1886).	House-breakings (1876 to 1886).	Ordinary Thefts (1876 to 1886).	Total value of property stolen (1876 to 1886).
								Rs.
Meerut.	Meerut	160	25	144	1,283	8,207	9,634	6,72,827
	Aligarh	125	38	233	965	12,652	10,453	4,86,341
	Saharanpur	61	17	52	912	6,867	7,995	4,52,111
	Muzaffarnagar	70	9	79	853	5,052	5,076	2,63,750
	Bulandshahr	78	22	73	1,570	6,254	5,373	3,74,874
	Dehra Dun	19	1	9	33†	606	2,851	92,542
Rohilkhand.	Bareilly	184	58	184	1,324	18,608	23,279	4,77,770
	Bijnor	60	32	70	976	6,949	9,892	2,89,096
	Moradabad	135	58	264	1,433	8,681	17,443	4,25,144
	Budaon	145	78	194	1,187	10,486	9,708	2,55,421
	Shahjahanpur	189	28	84	1,115	9,401	21,781	3,27,503
	Pilibhit*	40	11	41	312	3,315	3,271	66,788
Agra.	Agra	181	64	279	1,396	11,992	15,902	7,61,382
	Muttra	88	46	138	1,061	5,899	7,043	4,28,218
	Farukhabad	156	33	76	445†	9,481	8,853	2,88,569
	Mainpuri	77	24	62	953	6,650	5,907	2,77,533
	Etawah	110	21	76	769	7,905	8,489	2,70,881
	Etah	116	30	46	1,314	11,847	8,771	2,71,763
Allahabad.	Allahabad	122	17	188	325†	14,615	15,901	5,51,161
	Cawnpore	171	10	78	149†	6,859	22,321	5,52,519
	Fatehpur	107	16	77	139†	4,245	5,816	1,43,149
	Banda	91	17	68	261†	4,057	15,102	2,12,320
	Hamirpur	78	19	76	142†	3,076	11,039	1,77,773
	Jaunpur	84	11	66	293	12,955	8,201	2,08,974
Benares.	Benares	68	6	89	409	9,387	19,685	7,61,605
	Gorakhpur	90	33	143	1,323	14,358	43,699	3,76,574
	Azamgarh	96	25	180	841	14,189	13,598	2,58,959
	Mirzapur	87	16	72	469	6,908	11,478	2,52,416
	Ghazipur	50	15	97	704	10,441	19,314	3,41,394
	Basti	69	30	123	533	10,714	27,637	2,91,840
	Ballia*	21	...	36	527	3,578	3,688	2,09,375
Jhansi.	Jhansi	42	31	46	276†	4,180	14,106	2,01,974
	Jalaon	55	26	53	293†	3,455	8,230	1,96,903
	Lalitpur	21	14	20	265†	1,341	5,592	65,549

* These districts were formed in 1880.
† Figures for three years only.

APPENDIX I.—concluded.

Division.	District.	Murders (1876 to 1886).	Dacoities (1876 to 1886).	Robberies (1876 to 1886).	Head of cattle stolen (1883 to 1886).	House-breakings (1876 to 1886).	Ordinary Theft (1876 to 1886).	Total value of property stolen (1876 to 1886).
								Rs.
Kumaon.	Tarai	14	6	17	.....	346	1,172	79,915
	Kumaon	41	1	85	.....	98	1,572	75,012
	Garhwal	27	2	12	.....	28	618	9,680
	Railways	3	2	14	.....	312	5,418	1,82,214
Lucknow.	Lucknow	112	22	143	77*	14,714	18,124	9,19,364
	Unao	131	34	174	273*	16,139	16,411	3,62,765
	Bara Banki	122	45	208	331	20,386	14,328	3,71,803
Sitapur.	Sitapur	122	17	44	362	22,489	44,984	5,68,557
	Hardoi	161	30	88	679	17,382	20,525	3,67,344
	Kheri	111	15	57	911	15,043	21,099	3,73,867
Fyzabad	Fyzabad	55	36	273	238	18,790	19,189	4,16,952
	Bahraich	81	27	211	402	20,161	19,456	2,88,202
	Gonda	84	34	153	321	14,020	29,483	3,03,811
Rae Bareli.	Rae Bareli	90	22	201	118	23,273	15,604	2,31,239
	Sultanpur	76	17	286	169	23,060	16,935	2,02,435
	Partabgarh	54	8	68	168	13,790	22,572	1,93,595
	Total	4,530	1,194	5,548	28,757	496,006	693,856	16,208,467

* Figures for three years only.

APPENDIX II.—Proportionate Amounts of House-breaking and Theft, and Loss of Property from all Causes, in each District.

Division.	District.	Population (1881).		Annual number to every 100,000 males of		Annual loss of property to every thousand families.
		Total.	Males.	House-breakings.	Ordinary thefts.	
						Rs. a.
Meerut.	Meerut	1,313,137	705,437	106	124	217 1
	Aligarh	1,021,187	551,279	209	172	201 13
	Saharanpur	979,544	530,427	123	137	195 8
	Muzaffarnagar	758,444	409,436	112	113	147 5
	Bulandshahr	924,822	491,958	116	99	171 12
	Dehra Dun	144,070	83,985	66	308	272 2
Rohilkhand.	Bareilly (& Pilibhit)	1,482,537	787,796	253	307	155 4
	Bijnor	721,450	383,258	165	235	169 12
	Moradabad	1,155,173	610,291	129	260	155 15
	Budaon	906,451	487,351	196	181	119 6
	Shahjahanpur	856,946	460,064	186	430	161 15
Agra.	Agra	974,656	526,801	207	274	338 15
	Muttra	671,690	360,967	149	177	270 3
	Farukhabad	907,608	490,508	176	164	134 12
	Mainpuri	801,216	482,094	125	161	146 12
	Etawah	722,371	395,224	182	195	158 14
	Etah	756,523	413,689	272	201	152 3
Allahabad.	Allahabad	1,474,106	741,730	179	195	158 6
	Cawnpore	1,181,396	628,891	99	323	198 2
	Fatehpur	683,745	347,587	111	152	88 11
	Banda	698,608	354,377	104	387	128 12
	Hamirpur	507,337	259,778	108	386	148 7
	Jaunpur	1,209,663	611,407	192	122	73 3
Benares.	Benares	892,684	450,784	189	397	270 11
	Gorakhpur	2,617,120	1,306,123	100	304	60 15
	Azamgarh	1,604,654	816,429	158	151	68 6
	Mirzapur	1,136,796	567,304	111	184	94 1
	Ghazipur	1,014,099	507,117	187	346	142 8
	Basti	1,630,612	824,251	118	304	75 13
	Ballia	924,763	450,605	113	117	150 12

APPENDIX II.—concluded.

Division.	District.	Population (1881).		Annual number to every 100,000 males of		Annual loss of property to every thousand families.
		Total.	Males.	House-breakings.	Ordinary thefts.	
						Rs. a.
Jhansi.	Jhansi	333,227	172,884	220	742	257 9
	Jalaon	418,142	216,145	145	346	199 8
	Lalitpur	249,088	129,799	94	391	111 8
Kumaon.	Tarai	206,993	113,315	27	94	163 9
	Kumaon	493,641	261,054	3	55	64 6
	Garhwal	345,629	170,755	1	33	11 14
Lucknow.	Lucknow	696,824	365,305	366	451	558 15
	Unao	899,069	461,167	318	323	170 15
	Bara Banki	1,026,788	523,581	354	249	153 6
Sitapur.	Sitapur	958,251	505,986	404	808	251 6
	Hardoi	987,630	531,704	297	351	157 9
	Kheri	831,922	445,019	307	431	150 15
Fyzabad.	Fyzabad	1,081,419	546,174	313	319	163 6
	Bahraich	878,048	459,187	399	385	139 1
	Gonda	1,270,926	650,771	196	412	101 4
Rae Bareli.	Rae Bareli	951,905	466,906	453	304	102 11
	Sultanpur	957,912	475,125	441	324	89 8
	Partabgarh	847,047	420,730	298	488	96 13
	TOTAL	44,107,869	22,912,556	197	276	155 11

APPENDIX III.—Annual Statement of certain Classes of Crime.

Year.	Murder.	Administering stupefying drugs.	Dacoity.	Robbery.	Cases of cattle theft.*	House-breaking & house-trespass.	Ordinary thefts.
1876	381	43	79	452	4,102	49,604	52,842
1877	470	37	261	672	5,317	60,745	73,468
1878	546	60	106	682	8,909	69,879	107,320
1879	346	41	96	450	4,458	34,592	58,658
1880	371	37	108	424	5,057	33,520	55,837
1881	381	29	109	459	5,212	34,020	55,220
1882	407	27	111	420	5,031	33,538	55,108
1883	412	30	95	418	3,790	31,445	56,483
1884	365	56	83	542	3,667	47,348	59,086
1885	430	54	73	471	3,734	46,978	57,867
1886	421	25	73	558	3,943	54,337	62,009
Total... 1877 & 1878.	1,016	97	367	1,354	14,226	130,624	180,788
Total... Other nine years.	3,514	342	817	4,196	38,994	365,382	513,068
Annual Average. Famine years	508	48	183	677	7,113	65,312	90,394
Annual Average. Ordinary years	390	38	91	466	4,333	40,598	57,008

* Figures taken from the annual and not from the special reports.

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